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About Dr. Pick

Dr. Franz Pick is one of the world's most respected experts on monetary affairs and precious metals. Dr. Pick studied law at the University of Leipzig, monetary theory at the University of Hamburg, and inflation-devaluation theory at the Sorbonne in Paris. His degrees include BS, MA, MBA, LLD, and PHD.

Dr. Pick is the Publisher of *Pick's World Currency Report* and *Pick's Currency Yearbook*, two publications noted for their authoritative and candid assessments of global currency events and trends. Dr. Pick is the author of 6 books on silver and gold, and is a contributor to *Barron's*, *Playboy*, *Harper's*, and the *Northern Miner*.

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The 1976

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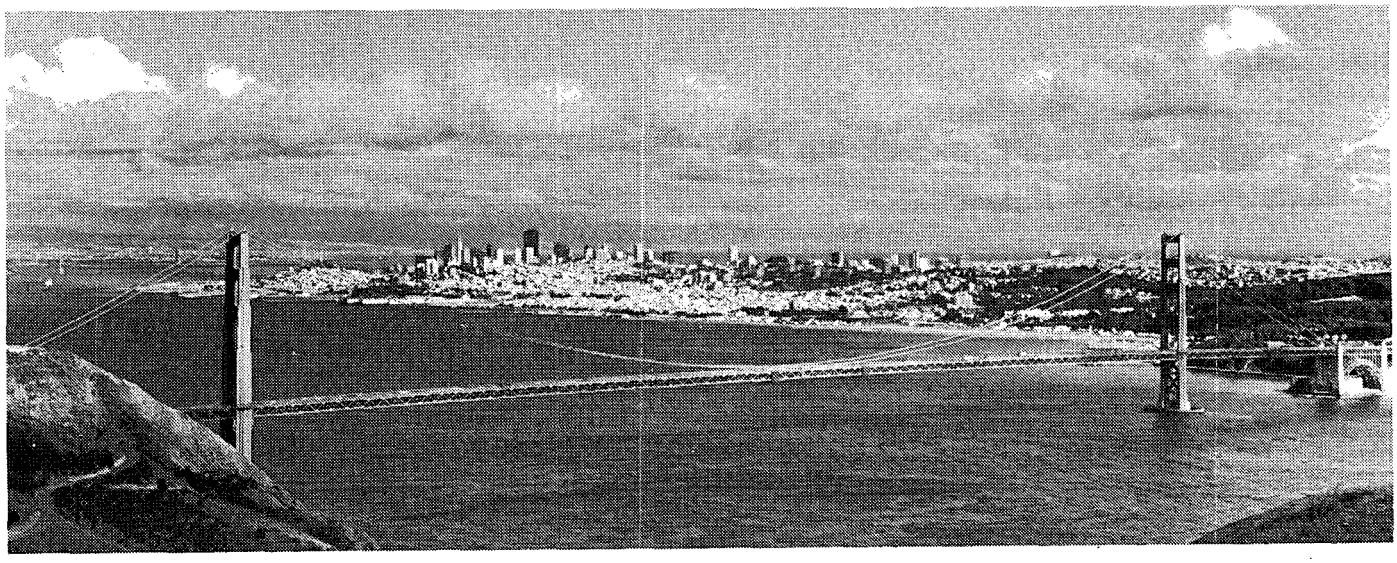

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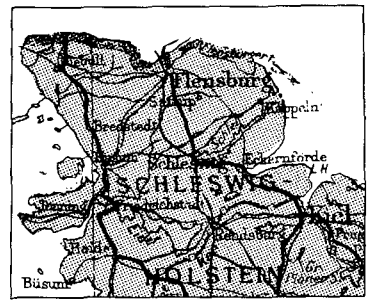

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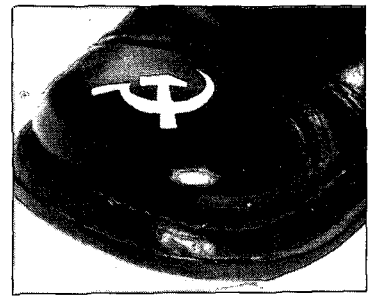

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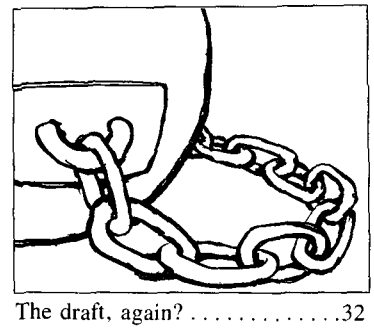

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Cover by Don Wood

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letters

Chicago Non-Libertarians

March 1977 "Quickies" is a little too quick with the Austrian objection to Chicagoite "libertarianism." No one seriously denies that Milton Friedman and friends often eloquently and sincerely *advocate* what appear in isolation to be libertarian moves. The Austrian claim—against which "Quickies" columnist Birmingham has adduced no evidence—is that Chicago-style economics taken as a whole can justify statism as easily as it can justify freedom. By contrast, the only way Austrian economics can be used to rationalize coercion is to "plug in" a prior *moral* assumption asserting the evil of production and prosperity.

Adolf Hitler, Karl Marx, and Franklin D. Roosevelt are all on record as advocating "freedom," from one kind of philosophic stance or another. That doesn't mean that I accept them as libertarians. (Or shall we assess logical consistency *empirically?*) As for the Chicago school's much-vaunted "practicality"—*real* practicality consists of devising politically *workable* methods to move from statism to freedom, on *net.* It is not at all evident that the "seen" benefits of Chicagoite tinkering with State machinery outweigh the unseen costs of introducing new kinds of government. And what makes Birmingham think that politicians will buy proposals that *do* reduce their power, simply because an economist puts them forth? Ideas such as privatization can be tactical *tools,* but not the main force for putting the heat on the power elite, which only a moral argument can provide.

William D. Burt
Brooklyn, NY

Contra Chicago School

William Birmingham's recent "Austrian"-baiting [March] is a typical example of the unfortunate ignorance so many libertarians have about the "Chicago" School of economics, as well as their ideology in general.

About 10 years ago, when the modern libertarian movement was just beginning to appear as a new political element, we libertarians sought any and everyone who sympathized with the ideals of the free society. Since then, we have matured in our ideology, sorting out our ideas in our arguments so as to strengthen inroads we now are making in academia and society in general. However, many libertarians seem to remain in the back-slapping era, oblivious to the fact that many of the ideas of those advocating freedom are either sophomoric, illogical, or irrelevant to the ideology of liberty.

The hard fact of the matter concerning the Chicago School is that *as Chicago economists,* they cannot prove whether the free society and free market is productive, virtuous, efficient, just, desirable, or anything at all! Many Chicagoans may have libertarian views on any or all matters, but these views cannot come from their unswerving devotion to orthodox, positivist, Neo-Classical economics. In fact such economists as Friedman make it clear that their political perspective comes from *Hayek,* not the practice of Neo-classicism.

To many of us, the "Chicago School" *appeared* to be the only ballgame in town if you wanted to study free market economics. I have since come to recognize that "Chicago" economics is really nothing at all. The term "Chicago" economics was coined to merely describe a group of individuals within the established Neo-classical corpus (same school as Samuelson, Tobin, Wallich, etc.) who happen to hold quasi-free market *political views.* The economics as such is no different, and certainly no more "free-market" than is that of the most determined interventionist Neo-classicist.

Within recent years, the Austrian school has been experiencing an incredible and magnificent rate of growth, as we are witnessing the collapse of the Neo-classical paradigm. For those of us seriously interested in studying political economy, the works of Mises, Hayek, Kirzner, Lachmann, Rothbard, and a host of younger economists offer the most promising road to mastering the science of economics as well as combatting the arguments for economic and political statism. The major libertarian think tanks (Institute for Humane Studies, Center for Libertarian Studies, Cato Institute, etc.) all recognize this fact and are very active in accelerating the Austrian movement. Those libertarians who continue to trumpet the merits of the "Chicago School" are doing themselves, economic science, and the libertarian movement a great mis-service.

As libertarians, we should warmly em-

brace all those seeking the free society, but that doesn't mean that we should likewise embrace their rationale for such a society, their mode of living in such a society, or any particular professional practice of theirs, unless it forcefully and scientifically contributes to our understanding of the ideology of libertarianism. "Chicago" economics completely fails to do so.

Name Withheld
Graduate School of Business
University of Chicago

Mr. Birmingham replies: It would be nice to get attacked for what I actually write instead of what others choose to read into it. I didn't question "the" Austrian objection to the Chicago school (in fact, they have several), but the claims of "some Austrian economists" that a Chicagoite cannot be a libertarian. I MEAN WHAT I SAY! I proved my point by producing two libertarian Chicagoites—and neither Mr. Burt nor Mr. Name-Withheld even tried to criticize their libertarian credentials. So what's their beef?

Dr. Thomas Szasz holds that mental illness is a "myth"; Dr. Nathaniel Branden disagrees. Both are impeccably libertarian. You can find both atheist libertarians and Christian libertarians, libertarians who believe in free will and those who don't, libertarians who are immersed in political activity and those who shun it. Do I have to belabor the issue? In all the disciplines that touch on the libertarian worldview, there are many positions you can take without invalidating the essential position of the non-initiation of force. Most people realize this, and are kind enough not to question the libertarian credentials of those who disagree with them on method. But when we argue positive economics vs. the a priori method—Chicagoite economics vs. Austrian economics—some Austrians whip out the long knives. Why? It can't be ideological purity; until recently, as I understand it, most Austrians were mere laissez-faire liberals. (Ludwig von Mises claimed that the opponent of conscription was "an abettor of those aiming at the enslavement of all." Milton Friedman opposed the draft and, from his position on the Gates Commission, helped to end it. One up for the Dark Lord.) It would be uncharitable to suggest that these people use character assassination to get the support they can't get by genteel persuasion. I, of course, just ooze charity. But how else can we explain it?

Enough. Messrs. Burt and N-W misunderstood me; their letters are really beside the point. It was not my intention to "Austrian-bait"—I have nothing against Austrian economics and want to learn more about it—I just don't want them to try to read their opponents out of the libertarian movement. One last point: our anonymous friend from Chicago seems to be saying that Paul Samuelson and Milton Friedman hold the same economic views. If he's really that dumb I don't blame him for not wanting his name known.—**W.F.B.**

Conservatarianism?

Congratulations for printing Ralph Raico's "On Tory Blind Spots" [March].

It was a welcome change from the usual conservatarianism of your magazine.

Charles A. Jeffress
Tulsa, OK

Whose Blind Spots?

Ralph Raico's article "On Tory Blind Spots" quite properly attacks the Tories for their faults, but reveals a few of Raico's own blind spots. He quotes *Lenin,* of all people, in defense of the anarchists. The quote itself is apt, but it comes from the mouth of a man who established a regime which killed a lot more than 13 million people, and which "lived according to the belief that the peoples of Russia came and went in generations whose only meaning was to die in extending the Imperial (in this case, Soviet) domains to the ends of the earth."

I wish Raico would recognize imperialism *wherever* it appears—such as in the government of North Vietnam, which, after murdering a considerable number of peasants in its forced collectivization program, decided to extend its domain, if not to the ends of the earth, at least to the ends of Indochina. So more North Vietnamese peasants (not to mention the inhabitants of the invaded countries) were sent to die. At this point our own government stumbled into the war.

As for the New Left, it doesn't act much better. I think the number of real pacifists or isolationists, whose opinions I could respect, in the misnamed "anti-war movement" was small. Most of the articulate spokesmen were not so much against the war as on the other side. They would have preferred our government to become *more* totalitarian, in the manner of North Vietnam and China, rather than less totalitarian and more libertarian. How many men burned their draft cards simply because they opposed the draft *as*

Continued on p. 10.

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Carter's Energy War

editorial

"The moral equivalent of war." The President's metaphor is an apt one. For indeed, his energy program amounts to a declaration of war — not against the Arabs or against waste but against the American taxpayer and the remnants of our once-free economy. For what Carter has proposed is nothing less than a giant step towards fascism.

To begin with, the administration has exaggerated the extent of the (nonetheless real) energy crisis. The much-touted CIA report forecasting severe oil shortages by 1985 was largely guesswork and made worst-case assumptions throughout, according to an appraisal by National Economic Research Associates, of New York. Other analyses — by the UN, by the 24-member Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and by Stanford Research Institute — have found the oil picture to be considerably brighter.

To the extent that a crisis (i.e sharply inadequate supplies relative to demand) does exist, it is largely the creation of the U.S. government. It began in the 1950's with the absurd FPC controls on natural gas prices, which led to widespread displacement of coal as a utility boiler fuel, and displacement of solar water heaters (yes!) in Florida and the Southwest by artificially-cheap natural gas. It continued in the 1970's with the FEA price controls and regulations on oil production, leading to reduced U.S. production and an ever-greater volume of imports. Adding to the problem were environmental laws that permitted far too easy harassment of utilities seeking approval of power plant construction, and which forced automakers to produce increasingly inefficient (i.e. gas-guzzling) engines in order to meet clean-air standards. All the while tariffs impeded free consumer access to more efficient imported cars. This kind of track record should be cause for healthy skepticism about *any* government plan to solve the mess it has created.

But a look at Carter's plan replaces skepticism with alarm. For at one stroke he is proposing the most audacious expansion of taxation and Federal intervention in recent memory. The Federal government, rather than the marketplace, would now be responsible for determining: the price of gasoline, the price of large versus small cars, the price of within-state natural gas, the price of using oil, the growth rate of the solar heating and insulation industries, the way utilities set their rates, etc., etc.

Those massive new taxes on gasoline, oil, and automobiles would bring in *$70 billion a year* of new government revenue by 1985. And in case you believed Carter's initial pledge that this tax money would all be rebated back to the taxpayers (April 20), note well that by April 22 Mr. Trust-Me was already saying "I can't certify today that every nickel of the taxes collected will be refunded to consumers," and two days later energy czar Schlesinger told *Face the Nation* that he could not make a firm commitment on recycling taxes back to consumers, "because we want to integrate our energy proposals into welfare reform and tax reform." (You didn't *really* think the Feds were going to pass up an opportunity to achieve social goals [i.e. wield power] with $70 billion a year, did you?) By mid-May Congress had already begun talking about spending the gas tax funds on mass transit instead of rebates.

Curiously, the Carter plan is being called a "free-market" approach in some quarters because of its emphasis on raising energy *prices* to market or near-market levels. But doing this via *taxes* rather than the market does only half of what free-market pricing would do. Sure, a higher price will induce consumers to conserve, but if government, rather than the producers, gets the increased revenues, there is no increase in capital available to expand production (except when and as the Feds see fit to hand out grants — but maybe that's the point). Carter rails against "windfall profits." But where can these profits go? Only into increased dividends (which will either be spent or invested — surely he and Charles Schultze couldn't object to that) or increased retained earnings, i.e. expansion of production capacity. *There are no other alternatives!*

Besides failing to come to grip with the need for increased production, the Carter plan poses increased risks of international confrontations. As a sop to the United Auto Workers and the auto companies, the administration apparently plans to apply the automobile tax rebates *only* to domestic cars — unless the governments of Japan, Germany, Italy, et. al., agree to restrict exports to this country. This kind of meddling with free trade not only violates the rights of consumers to free choice in the marketplace, but also risks bringing back the trade wars of the 1930's. Consumers already *have* been buying gas-saving cars — imports — in record numbers, hitting an all-time high in April at 20 percent of the U.S. market. All without any gas-guzzler tax and despite U.S. import duties.

A sensible policy would, of course, seek to return energy to the free market. The two most important steps in this direction would be to abolish the FPC and the FEA — or at the very least to repeal the laws giving them the power to fix energy prices. This should be done at once, not phased in "painlessly." Every day that passes with energy prices controlled by the State leads to further dislocations in the economy due to misallocations of resources. Far better, in this case, to make a clean break and get it over with. The shock to consumers of free-market pricing of gasoline, heating oil, and natural gas would certainly be no worse than under Carter's tax-based plan — yet the increased revenues would go immediately into productive use, rather than increasing the power of the State.

A variety of other steps would also assist in solving the energy problem. The administration and Congress should *end* once and for all their periodic threats to dismember the large oil companies, thereby creating a stable climate in which these firms can invest in the exotic technology needed to exploit more costly energy sources (e.g. natural gas in the geopressurized zone, secondary and tertiary oil recovery, shale oil, etc.). To promote the development of more efficient automobiles, the government should, simultaneously, abolish all import duties and restrictions *and* repeal mandatory mileage requirements, thereby letting the spur of competition motivate auto industry down-sizing and fuel economy R&D. Federal and state regulations holding back industrial firms from generating electricity from waste steam in their boilers, both for their own use and for sale to others, should be repealed.

There are many things the Federal government can do to stimulate solutions to the energy problem facing this country. But they are not the measures called for in Jimmy Carter's energy war. They involve getting the Federal behemoth out of the way and turning American capitalism loose on the problem.

Robert Poole, Jr.

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letters

Continued from p. 7.

such? Many of them favored universal service!

We can learn from the old anarchists, but the New Left, like the Tories, has nothing to offer. If we want our contemporaries to teach us, we'll have to teach ourselves.

Robert S. Pfeiffer
San Diego, CA

Mr. Raico replies: I am at a loss as to why my modest article should be made into a sounding board for Mr. Pfeiffer's anti-Communism. I myself am now, and have been ever since I first became politically aware, many years ago, an anti-Communist. When manifesting it is to the point—for instance, in a brief review I did for REASON a while ago on David Caute's *The Fellow-Travelers*—then I do so. But I fail to see why every mention or citation of Lenin must include some reference to the horrors of the Soviet regime. Actually, though, if Mr. Pfeiffer will reconsider the passage, he may detect a latent irony (intended) in quoting Lenin as complaining of mass atrocities.

Why does my not writing about Communist imperialism show that I do not recognize it? I was pointing out blind spots in the *Tory* view of things, and blindness to Communist imperialism is not typically one of them. For that matter, neither did I make any mention of Roman, Assyrian, or Nazi imperialism.

The "New Left" may mean many different things. I think that the social analyses of Marcuse or the Stalinist wing of the later SDS, for instance, are largely junk, while those of Ivan Illich, Carl Oglesby, and Paul Goodman are frequently enlightening. And I believe that there are many more possibilities for productive alliances and interactions with leftists and liberals than most libertarians customarily acknowledge. For an informative and nuanced analysis of the New Left, by the way, REASON readers may refer back to an essay-review by Bill Evers on "Recent Books on the New Left," in the August 1975 issue. **—R.R.**

Meat-Axe vs. Bribes

I found Abraham Kalish's "Buying off Bureaucrats" [April] an exercise in futility. Indeed, I find the whole idea of bribing civil servants in order to "reduce bureaucracies" more than a little silly.

There are several questions which remain unanswered here. If the government employee unions of which Mr. Kalish speaks are as powerful and influential as he alleges—powerful enough to kill any scheme that would reduce their powers and numbers—why should they endorse and cooperate with a program that would do just that? The bribe—or the salary differential between a private job and a government job—is no fabulous inducement. Why should union bosses and the rank and file take that bait when they can have their fabulous salaries *and* the power to demand and get more? Why should they accept employment in private industry and business, where they would have no power and little chance of gathering any?

Who would pay for a program that would "buy off" bureaucrats? Mr. Kalish justifies such a program as the best way to ease the hardships of transferring from public employment to private employment, as a means of softening the economic blow for everyone around. But would there be an economic blow? Would personal and corporate income taxes decrease automatically with the phasing out of each and every bureaucracy or agency? If not, where is the sense of implementing such a scheme in the first place? Who would hire these people anyway? Would taxes really decrease in step with expenditures?

Further, why should I, a private employee all my life, care about whether or not the transition for all these poor disenfranchised souls and their dependents is gradual and painless? The "lifestyles" implied by all those mortgages and automobile payments Mr. Kalish makes mention of are simply not my concern, and nor are the financial bases of the businesses and banks and insurance companies whose incomes are derived from our civil servant class.

True, there would be moaning and the gnashing of teeth if the "meat-axe" approach were used in thinning the ranks of the civil servants, and the prices of goods and labor in those cities with a high proportion of civil servants would drop and there would be much discomfort only for those benefiting from fat bureaucracies. Not a significant drop, to be sure, but enough of one to permit savings thus incurred to go into capital that would in turn go into new productive enterprises. I favor the "meat-axe" approach; I never in my life pledged to guarantee the "lifestyles" or retirement plans of anyone. These are things entered into in the past with my money but without my knowledge, consent or benefit. They are not my obligations, and no one has the right to ask me to help prevent either the government or these civil servants from facing the consequences of their actions.

A Sunset Law, if ever enacted, may or may not contribute to the rebirth of freedom in this country. In practice, it would at best only be patchwork. What is needed is the application of reason, and that means *radical* ideas, which would mean Constitutional amendments limiting and defining the role of government.

Edward Cline
Forest Hills, NY

Mr. Kalish replies: I appreciate the intense feelings expressed in Edward Cline's letter. History, however, shows that whenever any group attains considerable political or economic power, it is wisest to offer a compromise solution to the conflicting interests.

Thus, especially if one came from a large state, it seemed illogical and unjust for a small state like Rhode Island to be given the same number of U.S. Senators as New York or Pennsylvania. To get the small states to adopt the Constitution, however, it was necessary to offer them this compromise. Call it a bribe if you wish.

In the first months of the War Between the States, President Lincoln, following the precedent of the British Empire, proposed paying about one billion dollars to the Southern slaveowners and thus ending slavery. But Wendell Phillips and other abolitionists insisted that the way to end slavery was to hang all the Southern slaveowners. Lincoln's compromise plan was not adopted. The Civil War cost $8 billion dollars and one million casualties. Will we learn from history?—**A.H.K.**

Kudos

Bravo to Anne Wortham for her article on "A Black Writer's View of Roots" in the April issue. A very perceptive and stimulating view it was indeed.

W.W. Parrish
Washington, DC

Shamanic Mind?

Though Bob Gover [April] praises *Castaneda's Journey* for proving the don Juan tetralogy to be fiction, he finds plenty of faults in my book. Having himself interviewed "over a hundred witchdoctors," Gover taunts me with "lazy legwork" for failing to corner the notoriously elusive Castaneda. "A wage-

earning journalist," he says, "would have been laughed all the way to the unemployment office" for giving up after only two rebuffs. Quite so. *National Enquirer* (March 22) for example featured poor old William Powell pleading: "I don't want the world to know that I'm deaf, housebound and helpless....I don't want to tell everyone that I have diabetes....I don't want to talk about it now." Had I been one of *National Enquirer's* go-getters, instead of "striking a scholarly stance" and relying on "the leg work and interviews of others," I should undoubtedly have lain in wait at Castaneda's beach house and interrogated him there—perforce at gunpoint, since he is not a feeble 84 like the reclusive movie idol but a vigorous 51.

I don't suppose Gover held a gun on his witchdoctors, but if he had I wonder how much faith he would put in their statements. I doubt any of his informants had written four books and talked to six interviewers either. A witchdoctor or anthrofictioneer who couldn't get his ideas across in 1000 pages and six interviews would hardly deserve to be interviewed again. So much for silly objections.

On the serious side, Gover hopes international discord will decrease as Westerners learn to appreciate the animistic belief systems of pre-literate societies. Though anthropologists have striven to promote such appreciation, Gover takes a dim view of their endeavor. Pagan beliefs, he says, can embrace modern science—detecting voices of gods in theories of relativity or quanta—but science cannot accommodate pagan beliefs. Though witchdoctors and scientists both construe the world through theory, Gover rates the pagan theory higher, judging it more inclusive.

Gover's unsound epistemological hierarchy fails to comprehend: the capacity of any theory to subsume any other if terms can be redefined, the historic progress from compact animism to discursive rationalism, the versatility of science, and the differences among anthropologists, some of whom are neither materialists nor ethnocentrics. Scientists can penetrate pagan beliefs at least as well as witchdoctors can fathom science. Gover's impatience with their slow discursive unfolding of compact animism may drive him to gather new data in the field, but it does not justify selling science short.

Since legitimate anthropologists have not yet carried us as far "into the shamanic mind" as Gover wants to go, he is grateful for Castaneda's new genre, which "unites" the pagan and scientific belief systems, thereby accomplishing "far more than tons of actual fieldnotes have accomplished." In contrast, I believe Castaneda's "fiction disguised as anthropology" confounds two readily distinguishable points of view, thereby confusing the reader. The "shamanic mind" into which Castaneda carries us is a blatant fake, comprising tidbits from the ethnography Gover disdains, borrowed occult and mystical notions, and paraphrased philosophical propositions. Don Juan's wisdom rings true by striking familiar chords. He is a house-shaman, especially domesticated to serve the bookish seeker. I admit he's lovable, but so was Uncle Tom.

Castaneda's anthrofiction did reach millions of fans who had never read a word of anthropology, but the accomplishment was self-limiting. Though don Juan sharpened appetites for knowledge, Castenada's pretense of factual reporting forestalled his directing the reader to the ethnographic, religious, and philosophical sources that had given birth to don Juan. In *Castaneda's Journey* I try to bridge that gap. The authentic sound of shamans can be heard, for example, in *Maria Sabina and Her Mazatec Mushroom Velada*; it can be read in Barbara Myerhoff's delightful *Peyote Hunt*. In those two books lives the true don Juan,

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Author of *Atheism: The Case Against God*, George H. Smith is director of the Forum for Philosophical Studies in Los Angeles, and a frequent contributor to *Reason* and *Libertarian Review*.

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reason's comment of the month

The letter below, by subscriber Theodore Jacobs, appeared in the Bergen County *Record*, April 18, 1977:

YOUR TOWN COULD BE NEXT

A mere 20 years ago, people of all ages were able to walk safely along the Grand Concourse, the same Bronx avenue that is now the hunting ground of teen-age hoodlums who prey upon the elderly, day and night (The Record series, March 23 to 25).

Can you imagine the despondency and depression that must be felt when, upon achieving the age of retirement, one is forced to remain trembling behind locked doors for the rest of his or her life?

But how did this occur? Wasn't New York always the most benevolent of cities? Didn't the politicians always care about the poor, the aged, and the disenchanted? Probably. Yet contained within their benevolence was the seed of the now-occurring devastation.

Essentially, much of the problem was caused by "rent control." That alleged salvation of the masses was imposed upon the landlords of New York to (theoretically) ease the burden of the tenants. Then, of course, there was no incentive for landlords to maintain "old" or to build "new" housing.

(Presently, more than 50 per cent of the apartment buildings in New York are owned by the city—most of which were abandoned by their landlords. The city itself has thus become the No. 1 slumlord.)

Moreover, Social Security payments could hardly match the billions that the federal government had (in effect) stolen from the elderly by depreciating the currency (inflation), thereby causing the frugal and the thrifty to become impoverished wards of the state.

The typical result of this kind of welfare state philosophy produced its early casualties. The elderly (now poverty-stricken) became concentrated in one area—whether arriving there incidentally via rent control or by design via senior citizen projects.

At this point, no one had to announce to the muggers: "Easy pickins—seniors at large." They knew all about it. There the elderly were—trapped together with a generation of welfare recipients, most of whom were hostile and bitter. And there you have the condition of much of New York in 1977.

This, then, is the sad, final result of the "utopia" created by the misguided politicians and social engineers: the moral and financial bankruptcy of city government and the inhuman, unmitigated attacks on the aged and the innocent.

Be wary. The signs of misguided "political benevolence" in New Jersey are everywhere. What happened in New York City could happen any place; your town (or mine) could be next.

Theodore Jacobs
Fairlawn, NJ

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if anywhere. Without Castaneda's hoax I might never have heard of them.

With all his tricks, Castaneda has taught me many things I am glad to know. Imagining I am belittling Castaneda, Gover chides me for comparing him to the Amerindian Trickster. On the contrary, I thereby recognize his significance and worth. Whether living inside the myth crediting Carlos-Apprentice and don Juan sorcerer, or outside it admiring the cleverness and dedication of their inventor, we grasp Castaneda best as a culture hero, Carlos-Coyote, the Seer or Rogue who Teaches.

Richard de Mille
Santa Barbara, CA

Mr. Gover replies: "Scientists can penetrate pagan beliefs at least as well as witchdoctors can fathom science," says de Mille. So rather than review his review of my review of his review of Castaneda's books, I will deal with just that one point. For it is the heart of the agony.

De Mille's statement demonstrates the sort of pompous ignorance that hampers us in today's world of emerging African and Latin American nations. Our culture educates us to suppose that the truths of science are truer because they are newer. If that is so, the mental capacities of Western man have enjoyed a mutational leap during the past 200 years, and there is no evidence that such a leap has occurred.

From the pagan perspective, intelligence is a rather constant quality of human consciousness. Like energy, it is neither decreased nor increased but merely worked in ever-changing patterns.

To fathom science, it is necessary to learn the basic beliefs of science—its theories, principles, hypotheses, etc.—and how they apply to our physical reality. Science deals with the material side of our shared reality, with what's "out there" external to the experiencing observer.

To penetrate pagan beliefs, on the other hand, personal experience of pagan gods is needed. Pagan gods are universal forces, primary qualities of the energy science tells us is all at various rates of vibration. Except that from the pagan perspective, these qualities of energy are alive and responsive to human intention. Any scientist who even attempted to document personal experience of a pagan god would be judged unfit for science by his peers.—**B.G.**

Zulu on the Potomac

I would like to tell you how very stimulating I found your April issue. How amazing to discover that the solution to the defects in the belief system of Western science may well be found in the African/native American pagan belief system. If only now this insight could be put to use for the betterment of mankind. Considering that one of the mental giants mentioned in the Gover article was singlehandedly able to reconcile the corpuscular theory with the wave theory, what might not occur if a whole cartload of such sages were put under the same roof? Might it not be possible to set up a think tank for this purpose at some idyllic location near the very centers of government, known perhaps as "The Zulu on the Potomac" (or "The Zu" for short)? If furnished with the proper scientific equipment (rags, bones, hanks of hair and the like), one may be sure these distinguished gentlemen would lose

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brickbats

☐ **Surely you've heard** of Carter's election-day registration scheme, which seeks to get everybody and his dog to vote? It might not be such a bad idea. Professor Sidney Yerba of Harvard warns: "There will be too many interest groups to support a purely two-party system" if the voter turnout tops 80 percent. Carter also talks of abolishing the electoral college; Alexander Bickel of Yale believes "the monopoly of power enjoyed by the two major parties would not likely survive the demise of the electoral college." And columnist George Will fears the growth of (gasp) "ideological third parties." Which should be good news for America's leading ideological third-party, the Libertarians. Chew on *that*, George and Sid and Alex!

☐ **Milton Friedman's famous dictum** may be overturned in the very near future. Ms. Ellen Leitzer, who heads the American Civil Liberties Union's "reproductive freedom project," says there is "no question" in her mind that sometime in the next few years the so-called "pro-life" forces will get themselves a Constitutional amendment outlawing abortions. So there will be such a thing as a free lunch—and dinner and breakfast—if you're a fetus. If you're a woman, of course, you may be the lunch.

☐ **In the** *National Review* (April 15, 1977) Messrs. John Drake and Svend Peterson list the biggest spenders in the House of Representatives, defined as those in the 94th Congress who sponsored or co-sponsored legislation that would have cost more than a total of $400 billion over the next five years. Augustus Hawkins (D-CA), of the infamous Humphrey-Hawkins bill, leads the pack with $510.2 billion. The Dishonorable Stephen Solarz (D-NY) is second with $506.1 billion. Michael Harrington (D-MA) is third with $504.1 billion. Eighty Congressvermin in all are listed; surprisingly, all of them are Democrats. Four years ago (see Trends, December 1974) the Libertarian Task Force rated the Senate on the cost of the bills they voted for and found that Republicans (e.g.: Goldwater, Taft, and Hruska) can squander with the best of them. The reason for the disparity may be that Drake and Peterson only counted the bills that didn't pass—"Big spending bills which are not yet acceptable to majorities in both Houses of Congress"—which implies that Republicans are majoritarian statists while Democrats are elitist ones. Maybe they should swap names.

☐ **It's been ten years now** since Israel brought Western Civilization to the benighted masses of the West Bank and points north and south. And how have the masses liked it? Ask the students of the town of Ramallah who on March 9th expressed their gratitude by "blocking the road and throwing stones at cars," according to the *Washington Post* (March 20). Israeli border police broke up the celebration and chased down 17 students of a U.N.-run teacher's college. "Then they began to hit us with clubs and to kick us," said one student. "They ordered to curse Mohammed, and say 'thank you' after each blow." At Jerusalem's August Victoria hospital, where the 17 (not all of whom had taken part in the demonstration, by the way) were admitted with "broken bones, lacerations, brain concussions, missing teeth and the outward signs of severe beating," the chief of internal medicine "said he had never seen such 'crazy brutality.'" Such incidents may have been what the U.S. State Department had in mind when it recently suggested that the Israelis occasionally suppress demonstrations with "excessive force." But let us be fair; the *Post* thinks that "the excessive force, the deportation of Arabs in contravention of the Geneva convention, the blowing-up of houses belonging to suspected terrorists and the 'administrative detention' of persons whose crime may be as minor as writing anti-Israeli poetry are the dark side of what is, in many ways, a remarkably tolerant and lenient military occupation." But exactly! You will notice that none of the students were killed. Who says Israel isn't "committed to freedom and individual rights?"

☐ **According to syndicated columnists** Evans and Novak, at one time the Carter administration planned to keep its campaign promise to deregulate natural gas by raising the price ceiling to $2.40 per thousand cubic feet, which is about what it costs on the deregulated intra-state market. Naturally this was far too sensible, so the ceiling was dropped to $2.25. Then Rep. John Dingell (D-MI), *capo* of the House Energy Subcommittee, and Senator Henry "Mr. State" Jackson (D-WA), got wind of this and howled until the ceiling was dropped to $1.75. To make matters worse, the ceiling will now apply to intra-state gas as well. Energy czar James Schlesinger calls this "deregulation with a cap." Some "oil-state Congressmen" interpret this to mean that real deregulation is dead—"probably forever." Get ready to freeze in the dark.

☐ **Where is consciousness-raising** when we really need it? According to *Redbook*, 65 percent of all American women think it's a sin to "cheat" on their income taxes. By comparison, only 75 percent believe it's a sin to cheat on their husbands.

☐ **Dr. Peter Bourne, Carter's advisor on drug abuse,** says he may ask the FDA to outlaw barbiturates. Supposedly such drugs account for some 2400 deaths per year from accidents and suicides and there are safer substitutes. Apparently the medical profession doesn't agree; it writes 11 million barbiturate prescriptions a year. But the nation's doctors and the nation's drug consumers cut no ice with Bourne, so there will be tests at the Institute of Medicine and elsewhere until about July, then maybe FDA hearings where lovers of liberty and downers can make their cases. Ironically, *High Times* reports that Bourne is a strong supporter of decriminalization—of marijuana.

☐ **Great Moments in Political Philosophy,** No. 5: On April 19, 1977, the Supreme Court ruled that a teacher may paddle a refractory brat—even without a "pre-paddle hearing." Splitting five to four on this burning issue, the majority held that the Eighth Amendment does not apply to "reasonable but not excessive" corporal punishment for children. However that keen legal mind Justice Byron R. White dissented, writing: "If it is constitutionally impermissible to cut off someone's ear for the commission of murder, it must be unconstitutional to cut off a child's ear for being late to class."

☐ **There's still hope:** "Abbott Laboratories is now running a high-pressure campaign for the reinstatement of cyclamates, which were banned in 1969. Abbott's argument; the cyclamates that produced cancers in laboratory rats were tainted with saccharin." (*Newsweek*, April 4, 1977).

Bill Birmingham

trends

Another Regulation Backfires

Nearly lost in all the shouting over the banning of Tris-BP by the Consumer Product Safety Commission was the fact that it was the Commission's own regulations that put the chemical into children's sleepwear to begin with. Federal standard DOCFF3-71, issued in July 1972, established rigid flame retardant requirements for children's sleepwear sized 0 to 6X. The standard is so severe that it requires flame-retarding chemicals to be added even to naturally flame-resistant materials like wool. As a result, clothing manufacturers have made massive shifts in production. Natural (but combustible) cotton, which was used in 56 percent of children's sleepwear in 1971, dropped to 13 percent by 1975, with the balance being made of synthetic fibers. And Tris-BP, an organic bromide, was found to be the most economical and convenient flame-retarding additive for polyester, acetate, and triacetate fibers.

Thus, about 40 percent of the nation's 50 million children became exposed to a chemical which can be absorbed through the skin or by sucking on a sleeve, and which is definitely a mutagen and very possibly a carcinogen. In its haste to issue a ban on further use of Tris and a recall of 20 million garments already on retail shelves, the CPSC did not even have the grace to apologize for issuing its absurd flammability standards in the first place. This despite the fact that 11 producers of children's sleepwear now face near-certain bankruptcy.

And what of the evidence that prompted the standard? Arlene Blum and Bruce Ames of the University of California at Berkeley—the researchers who established that Tris is a mutagen—point out that the Federal government's original data were faulty. The government's 1972 report claimed that 200,000 burns and 4000 deaths are associated with flammable fabrics each year, yet these numbers have now been found to be *10 times* too high. Actually, there are only 16,000 burns and 500 deaths per year from fabric fires—and *nobody knows* how many of these are due to children's sleepwear catching on fire. It *is* known that the single major cause (of from 30 to 50 percent) of all fire deaths is smoking accidents—not usually a pastime of those ages 0 to 6. The next largest cause of residential fire deaths (open flames) accounts for only five percent of them.

Thus, the forced exposure of tens of millions of children to large quantities of a potentially cancer-causing chemical seems a high price to pay for an apparently minor decrease in fire-related accidents. Even the government's own National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control argued against this brute-force approach. Instead, it suggested clear flammability labeling, so that consumers and manufacturers could exercise free choice.

Perhaps the CPSC bureaucrats will learn a lesson about choice and risk from this sorry episode. On the agency's drawing boards are flammability standards for all childrens' and adults' clothing, tents, sleeping bags, curtains, and upholstered furniture. Will it force these standards, too, upon us, increasing by tenfold the 300 million lbs. of flame-retardants being added to the environment each year? Or will it allow people the right to assess their own risks? Stay tuned.

SOURCES:

- **"Consumer Unit Bans Tris-Treated Clothing," UPI (Washington), April 7, 1977.**
- **"Sleepwear Makers Warn on Tris Ruling," *Ibid*, April 25, 1977.**
- **"Flame-Retardant Additives as Possible Cancer Hazards," Arlene Blum and Bruce N. Ames, *Science*, Jan. 7, 1977, p. 17.**

Competing Cabs Are Back

For the first time in 42 years, Los Angeles will have competition in taxicab service. That happy outcome is the result of five months of hassles that began when the city's former monopoly (franchised) company, Yellow Cab, went bankrupt last winter. Drivers who lost their jobs began agitating for the right to go into business on their own, and at one point the City Council was prepared to let them do just that. In March the Council passed an ordinance allowing independent operators to pick up customers citywide. But that measure was vetoed by Mayor Tom Bradley, who cited the alleged risk that such competition "could deteriorate to ruthless practices which endanger public order and invite criminal activity," whatever that means.

Meanwhile, the Council was busily franchising—though not on an exclusive basis—eight new companies in various portions of the city. After further protests by independent drivers, a compromise measure was worked out which permits independents to form associations which can then be franchised. Each such association must have at least 25 full-time drivers and must operate with a centralized dispatching system. Bradley signed this measure in April, and it went into effect May 23. At press time two driver associations of over 100 members each had been formed to apply for franchises.

Not quite a *laissez faire* victory, but LA's limited taxi competition is likely to prove a better deal for both drivers and customers than the 42 years of Yellow Cab monopoly.

SOURCES:

- **"Council Approves Return of Private Taxis," *Los Angeles Times*, March 11, 1977.**
- **"Bradley Vetoes Cab Plan," *Ibid.*, March 19, 1977.**
- **"Owner-Driven Cabs Get Green Light from Council," *Ibid.*, April 14, 1977.**
- **"18-Point Policy Statement on Independent Cabs Approved," *Ibid.*, May 1, 1977.**

Facts Against the Draft

The case against reinstating the draft—or any other form of conscription—is basically a moral one. There can be no justification for coercing people to perform work. That is slavery—involuntary servitude—and was outlawed by the 13th Amendment. Yet in countering the advocates of conscription, it may be useful, in addition, to correct their outright distortions of the facts.

Supporters of the draft stress the cost of today's volunteer military as their principal argument. It is true that total military personnel costs have risen substantially now that forced labor is no longer available, but certain significant costs have actually gone *down*. Since the end of the draft in 1973 the Army has spent less on training, equipping, and transporting recruits due to lower rates of turnover, and has spent less on discipline of unruly troops. There have been major reductions in measures of discontent: the desertion rate is down to 17.7 per 1000 compared with 52 per 1000 in 1973, and courts-martial were down to 9913 from 20,922 in 1973. Since similar decreases have *not* been observed in the Navy, which has used volunteers all along, the change appears due mainly to ending the draft, rather than, say, the end of the Vietnam war.

Moreover, the prospective cost savings of a return to conscription are not all that significant. The days of $90 a month recruits are gone forever. At the very least, Congress will insist on paying the mini-

mum wage to draftees. That being the case, total savings would be under $2 billion a year, less than two percent of the $120 billion defense budget.

Other arguments raised against the volunteer military are equally hollow. Critics point to the Marine Corps' failure to meet its current recruitment goals. They neglect to mention that the Corps last year raised its standards, to seek 75 percent high school graduates rather than 55 percent as had previously been the case. Critics also cite the failure of local reserve and national guard companies to meet their enlistment goals—neglecting to point out that no funds have been provided for recruitment. Without the draft as an incentive, far fewer men are seeking refuge in these alternatives; hence, recruiting becomes necessary. Pentagon brass now concede this point and are developing special recruiting techniques.

The case against the draft is a strong one, but it can be made ever stronger if conscription's supporters can be persuaded to tell the truth.

SOURCES:

- **"Army Chief Cites Lower Costs of Volunteer Forces," Norman Kempster, *Los Angeles Times*, April 14, 1977.**
- **"The All-Volunteer Military Fights a War of Words," David P. Taylor, *Ibid.*, April 28, 1977.**

Transit Revisionism

"Transportation Secretary Brock Adams lauded the Bay Area Rapid Transit System as a cure-all for the nation's dependence on gas-guzzling automobiles. 'A system such as BART...is necessary if people are going to move out of their cars,' Adams said yesterday while riding a BART train with reporters."—News item.

Secretary Adams' fondness for multi-billion dollar fixed-rail transit systems used to be fairly standard among urban planners and transportation analysts. In the last few years, however (apparently unbeknownst to politician Adams), such thinking has undergone some radical revisionism. As actual cost data on BART and other new systems become available, honest planners are despairing of rail systems as a transportation solution.

BART, for instance, seems destined to go down in history as one of the world's greatest technological boondoggles. Built at a cost of over $2 billion, the system carries only 130,000 passengers per day. Taxpayers in the surrounding counties are forced to subsidize *each* daily round trip to the tune of $12.06—$2.62 for operating costs and $9.44 for capital costs. And though mass transit is supposed to be energy-efficient, BART will take 535 years just to break even on the energy costs of building the system.

These figures come from Dr. Charles A. Lave, associate professor of economics at the University of California at Irvine. Lave has recently gained a certain notoriety for suggesting that it would be cheaper for the government to buy every household a minicar than to build a fixed-rail transit system. Using his own Orange County as an example, Lave noted that even at retail prices, each of the county's 592,000 households could be provided with a Honda Civic or similar car for between $1.7 and $2.2 billion. By contrast, a proposed rail transit plan, rejected by the voters in 1974, would have cost $2.6 billion (in 1974 dollars).

Lave has been making such comparisons for the past eight years, and recently prepared a paper on the subject for the Institute of Transportation Studies. "The idea that public transportation will get people out of their cars is a myth, as far as the real world is concerned," says Lave. "Transit is not as fast, door-to-door. It does not leave the home or arrive directly at the destination. It cannot always offer even a seat, much less a private, uncrowded one. It offers less personal security." Perhaps that's why transit ridership continues to decline, even as the Feds keep pumping more money into such systems via the Urban Mass Transit Administration (UMTA). Lave points out that there were 8 billion transit trips in 1963, UMTA's first year. By 1972, after $3 billion in UMTA grants, the number of trips had declined to only 5.3 billion.

Lave's figures expose government transit systems as the vast boondoggles that they are. Secretary Adams should begin doing his homework, to save himself from further embarassment.

SOURCES:

- **"U.S. Transit Chief Lauds BART," AP (Fremont), April 22, 1977.**
- **"A Mass Transit Proposal of a Different Sort," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 27, 1977.**

Legalizing Freedom of Choice

Individuals in three states have won new legal rights to injest substances considered harmful by the Federal government. The Indiana legislature overrode Gov. Otis Bowen's veto of a bill that legalizes both Laetrile and saccharin as of June 1. Indiana thus became the first state in which not only the use but also the production and sale of Laetrile are legal. Only prescription and administration of Laetrile by physicians are legal in Alaska, and a bill legalizing Laetrile to this extent was passed by the Florida legislature two days after the Indiana measure. Similar Laetrile legalization bills are pending in the legislatures of Arizona, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Oregon.

In Mississippi, meanwhile, Gov. Cliff Finch signed into law a bill decriminalizing the use of marijuana. Arrest and jail for first-time possession of up to an ounce have been eliminated, and users will face only a citation and a civil fine. Mississippi joins the ranks of Oregon, Alaska, Maine, Colorado, California, Ohio, and Minnesota as places where use of the substance in small amounts has been decriminalized.

SOURCES:

- **"Laetrile Will Be Legal," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1977.**
- **"Florida Legislature OK's Use of Laetrile," UPI (Tallahassee), May 3, 1977.**
- **"Limited Usage of Laetrile Sought in Some States," AP, April 19, 1977.**
- **"Mississippi Decriminalizes Marijuana," *NORML News*, April 20, 1977.**

Milestones

- *OSHA On Trial.* The constitutionality of OSHA's warrantless searches of businesses will be decided once and for all by the U.S. Supreme Court next fall. The court announced it will hear OSHA's appeal of a U.S. Circuit Court judgement that such searches are unconstitutional (see Trends, April). Since that decision, OSHA inspections in Idaho have been halted. (Source: "OSHA to Be Judged," UPI (Washington), April 18, 1977.)
- *Free Press In Jeopardy.* A publisher has finally spoken out about the latest threat to press freedom: government restrictions on ownership of more than one newspaper. At the annual convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, president Joe D. Smith, Jr., publisher of a Louisiana paper, devoted his keynote address to the subject. "Just remember," said Smith, "a government which can tell you that you can own nine and not 10 can also deem you unqualified to own even one." Smith also noted the potential for subtle government control and intimidation inherent in such programs as wage and price controls and allocation of energy supplies. (Source: "Journalist Warns Against Regulation," AP (San francisco), April 25, 1977.)

This column reports trends in the advancement of liberty and economic freedom. Readers are invited to submit material of potential interest to Trends Editor, REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.

NON-INTERVENTION: A LIBERTARIAN APPROACH TO DEFENSE

We must realize the world is no longer in our control and adapt accordingly.

by Earl C. Ravenal

The 1976 contest between the two major parties took some strange turns, but it was normal in its indulgence in hypocrisy—the gap between the inevitable promises and the predictable performance. But the really important hypocrisy in political behavior—especially in the conduct of foreign policy—is the suppression of *costs* and the entertainment of *contradictions.*

IGNORING COSTS

As for costs, many of us care about what our government does with our money. Many would prefer that we stop defending other countries, for themselves, and put the resources that might be saved back in the pockets of the people from whom they were taken. This sensible notion is often called simplistic and naive, especially by the captive professors of foreign policy, the average area specialists, and the executives and lawyers and investment bankers of American-based foreign-oriented multinational firms—the reservoirs that provide a disproportionate share of governmental foreign polilcy advisors. These people gather in their habitual circles and ruminate on the "necessity" of maintaining our expensive alliances with 50 or so countries around the globe, never reckoning or mentioning what it might cost.

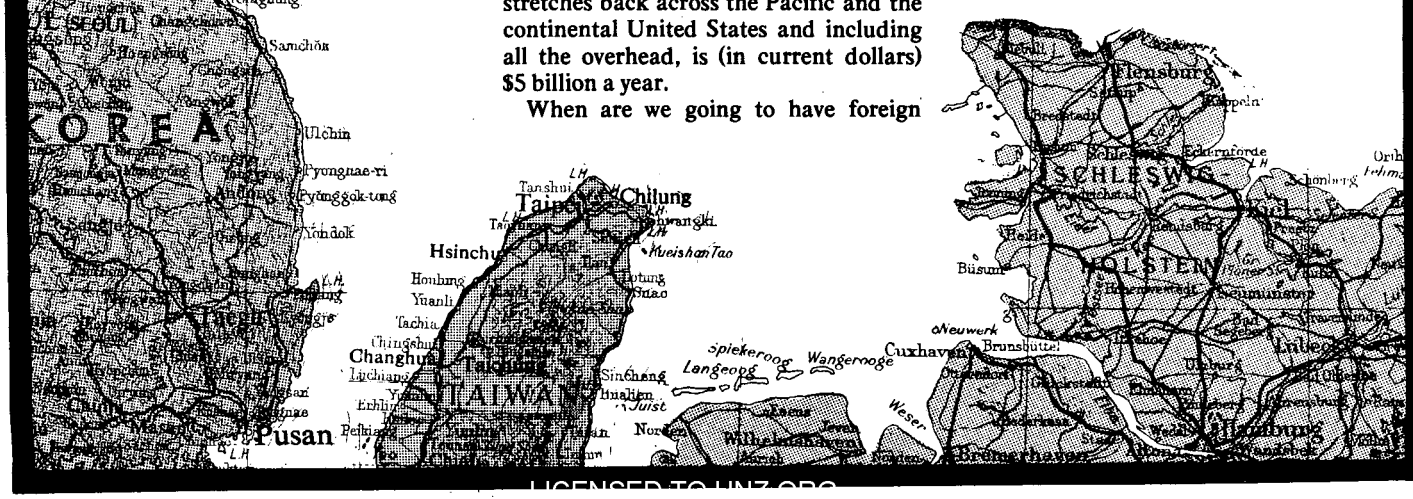
Take Korea, for example. One of those tedious foreign policy discussions—by a professor, a Korea specialist—was recently presented to one of those organizations that constitute the foreign policy community. As one might expect, the chances of ever ransoming our troops and weapons from the Korean peninsula, 30 years after their introduction there, were rated as dim. The option of disengagement was mentioned—just long enough to invite something between condemnation and ridicule. Needless to say, there was no mention of the *costs* of this virtually permanent deployment. And if the professor were invited to estimate the costs, he would undoubtedly understate them by a factor of ten. Well, the full cost of our Korean commitment, including the "tail" of forces that stretches back across the Pacific and the continental United States and including all the overhead, is (in current dollars) $5 billion a year.

When are we going to have foreign policy "makers" and advisors who can calculate costs and trade-offs and make elemental investment decisions? And when are we going to have *institutions* that allow these decisions to be put to the people: Would you rather pay $100 every year per average family to defend South Korea, or would you rather take the money and buy something you want—assuming the government doesn't contrive to take it back in some other way?

WHOSE CONSENSUS?

The other hypocrisy is the entertainment of contradiction. The platforms of both major parties are rife with it. One party—the Republican—says that we can suppress inflation and yet increase defense budgets by 10 to 15 billion dollars each year. The other party says that we can have global influence, and even a new license to become the world's moral policeman, and yet save defense dollars.

During the campaign season and the primary season that preceded it, all sorts of "advisory groups" constituted themselves to influence candidates on foreign policy. The real function of these groups was to re-create the "consensus" of foreign policy elites after the supposed schism of Vietnam. But this revived consensus is built on the spanning of contradictions. It is nothing but a laundry list of predilections, an amalgamation of foreign policy "goals"—nice things that they would like to see happen—that in



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most cases contradict one another.

Here is an example of the goals of one such advisory group (a *New York Times* editorial called them "reassuring"):

> "Vigorous pursuit of detente"...but "without making any inequitable concessions to the Soviets."
>
> "Establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China"...but "without abandoning Taiwan."
>
> "U.S. support for defending human rights more vigorously...advocating our own democratic values against competing ideological systems"...but "without being preacher or policeman."

After enumerating these pairs of contradictions, the report exults in the fact that "there is such widespread agreement on principles." But, with a slight twinge of apprehension, it notes that many of the authors of the document "perceive unusual disarray in our foreign policy." It ascribes this "apparent confusion" to the complexity of the issues, the parochialism of foreign policy professionals, and a certain disagreement on the implementation of the principles. It spares us from the thought that "principles" that *embody* essential contradictions *cannot be implemented* at all; as soon as they are challenged by events, they are bound to produce "disarray." But the report concludes, happily, that "the most basic foreign policy task of any future administration must be the 'successful management of contradictions' in a manner that elicits public support"—itself a double contradiction, as well as a statement that is breathtaking in its optimism and audacity.

The largest contradiction of all is between our global pretensions and our constitutional system. How to resolve this constitutional problem will not be found in public opinion surveys (Q: "Do you think we should abandon our responsible role in the world and revert to an isolationist, Fortress America posture?" A: "Heavens, no!") Nor will it be found in the wishful thinking of those elites who are not under the stress of real choices. The answer will lie in the logic of national decision—how the real choices of the people filter through our political system.

People do not articulate their real positions verbally, in advance. It may well be that on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays they think about the "threats" and responses; and on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays they count the costs—taxes, conscription, and infringements on civil liberties. But these things *do* come together, inexorably, in our complex political process.

The trouble is not—as the foreign policy elites are fond of saying—that the people are ignorant and without views. The people do have *implicit* stands. Most important, they have a sense of *limits,* in every significant area of foreign and military policy. The trouble is, first, that they don't know, in advance, what things cost—for example, what it really costs to defend Europe, Asia, and other areas of the world. Second, they don't know the wiring diagram — how commitments, contingencies, bases, forces, weapons systems, and costs are related. Third, and perhaps most important, they don't have a sense of their political competence, particularly in the foreign policy area. Much of the blame for this falls directly on the elites, who believe in the autonomy of foreign policy—that it does not, and should not, have anything to do with domestic affairs, and particularly with the expressions of ordinary citizens. What they really mean by a "nonpartisan" or "bipartisan" foreign policy is: don't disturb our monopoly on the discussion, let alone the practice, of international relations.

NONINTERVENTIONISM

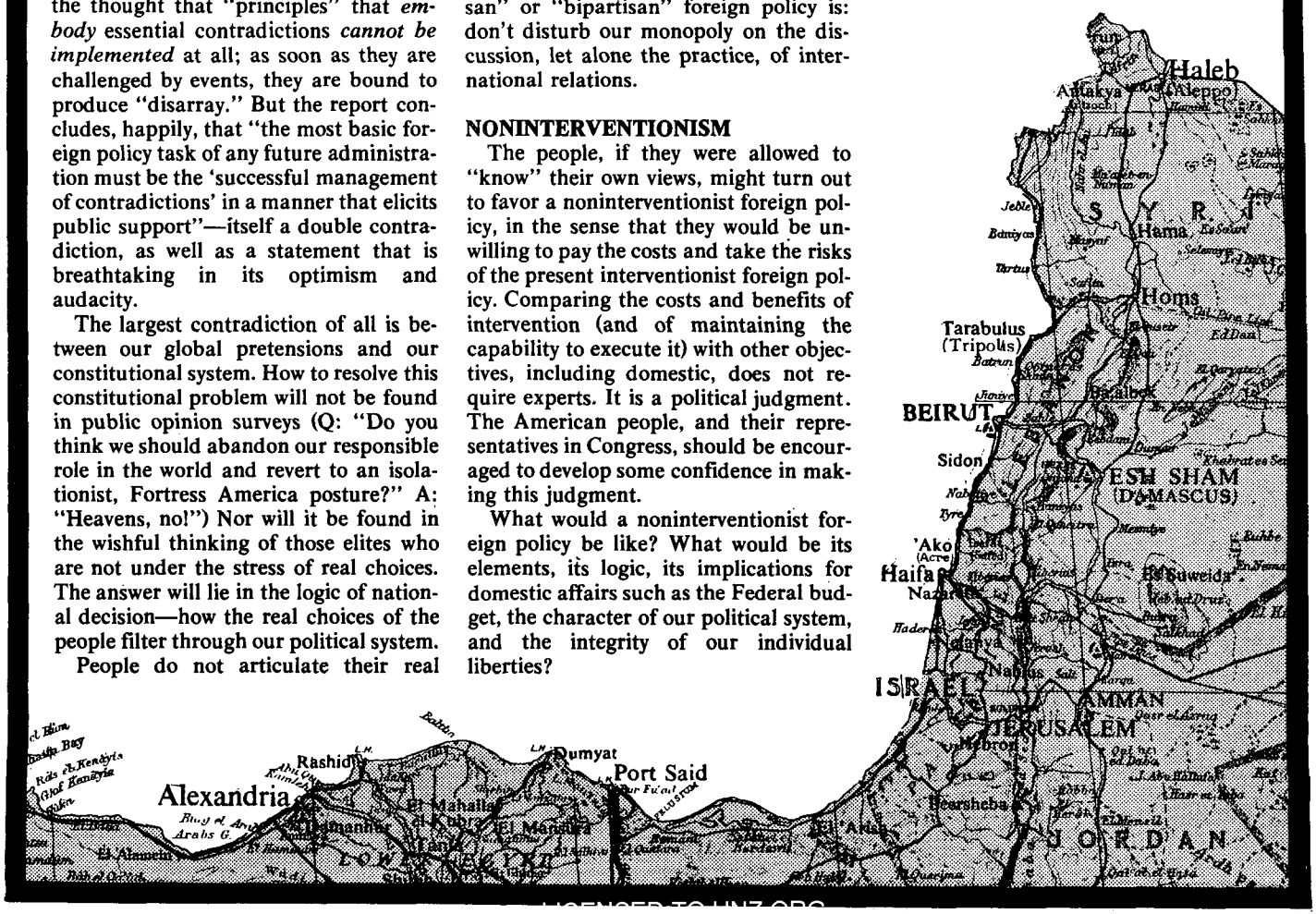
The people, if they were allowed to "know" their own views, might turn out to favor a noninterventionist foreign policy, in the sense that they would be unwilling to pay the costs and take the risks of the present interventionist foreign policy. Comparing the costs and benefits of intervention (and of maintaining the capability to execute it) with other objectives, including domestic, does not require experts. It is a political judgment. The American people, and their representatives in Congress, should be encouraged to develop some confidence in making this judgment.

What would a noninterventionist foreign policy be like? What would be its elements, its logic, its implications for domestic affairs such as the Federal budget, the character of our political system, and the integrity of our individual liberties?

There is a certain irreducible basis for our foreign and national security policy: the avoidance of direct conflict between the United States and any antagonist that has a strategic nuclear force sufficient to destroy directly a significant part of our homeland. (At present, there is such an antagonist, and only one—the Soviet Union.) That is our fundamental, "vital" security interest—the source of any others.

There is a derived proposition, which bears on the question of limited conventional war: we should not edge *near* the substantial possibility of nuclear confrontation. Some think that this implies an extended forward defense, all over the globe. But I would maintain that the avoidance of nuclear war is better served by *avoiding* lower-level, regional conflicts, since escalation to nuclear war is more likely from regional conflict than from a situation of disengagement. The trouble, for the formulation of national security policy, starts at this point. For most members of the foreign policy "consensus" believe that a wide range of American values are implicated in possible regional challenges.

Here we get down to a point that is deeply imbedded in the notion of foreign policy. What is the *purpose* of foreign



policy in the first place? Why have a foreign policy at all? This is an impolite, even outrageous, question to the practitioners of this art. But it is a legitimate and necessary question if we are to align our national goals and our national efforts. I would say that the *function* of foreign policy is to preserve a core of essential American values that most people would agree are to be preserved, almost unconditionally, as part of the definition of our national identity and the condition of our national sovereignty. Those essential values are our political integrity (the autonomy of our chosen political processes) and the safety of our citizens and their domestic property.

The "successful management of contradictions" in a manner that "elicits public support"—this is supposed to be our basic foreign policy task.

Why think that foreign policy should do anything more in the world than insulate a nation's citizens from harm and avoid the waste of their resources? We ought to challenge the very foreign-ness of foreign policy. Its ultimate test is how well it serves domestic policy. One might almost call foreign policy an extension, or a limiting case, of domestic policy. It certainly is not autonomous, and it certainly does not have a unique, or a primary, claim on the energies and sacrifices of citizens.

But most members of the foreign policy consensus would go far beyond that core of defensible values. They would assert, for example, that we must also defend and propagate in the world certain democratic or participatory forms of government and certain "human rights" that we enjoy in our own country—that these objectives ought to be assimilated into our foreign policy and, by extension, our national security policy.

It is not hard to see that this larger spectrum of values is more likely to be challenged or threatened by the practices of other nations than is the tighter core of essential values. The more we contrive to defend in the world, the greater will be our exposure to conflict; the greater will be our risk of inviting, under certain circumstances, the destruction of our homeland, the larger will be our defense budget; and the more pervasive and repressive will be the hand of our own government in our lives.

Now we must admit that some of our foreign commitments at least run parallel to the interests of the United States. But, contrary to the foreign policy consensus, few of these foreign interests are truly "vital" and few require military defense. After all, we maintain economic relationships with Communist countries.

REAL DEFENSE SAVINGS

But the real point is that we are now beset by tight and unyielding constraints, both international and domestic. We can't get everything we might want. We must make tough substantive choices. Furthermore, we are no longer in a situation where there are many easy cuts to make in the defense budget. Although there is still some "fat"—inflated weapons systems, inefficiencies—the savings here might amount to no more than four or five billion dollars a year. Moreover, as Gene McCarthy said so piquantly during the election campaign: When it comes to the defense budget, the fat isn't so bad; what we have to worry about is the *lean.*

For impressive and long-lasting savings in the defense budget, we have to cut *missions.* We can't do the same job in the world—even if we should be doing it—for significantly less. Substantial cuts in the defense budget imply a fundamentally different foreign policy. We have to put limits on our competition with global adversaries and limits on our support for friends. This would amount to a noninterventionist foreign policy.

What would be the military posture, force structure, and defense budget appropriate to such a foreign policy?

In Asia, a noninterventionist policy would entail a mid-Pacific posture: no American forces or bases west of Guam; no military assistance to Asian clients; phasing out all military alliances and defense commitments. The United States would abandon its ability to fight a land war in Asia and could expect an indigenous "balance" to establish itself among the three great territorial powers in this region, China, Japan, and the Soviet Union. The force structure for such a program in Asia would cost about $13 billion a year, saving about $12 billion from the structure proposed by the present administration for fiscal year 1978. Withdrawal from Korea alone, saving one division and all associated costs, would be worth about $5 billion a year.

Europe (including the Mediterranean and the Middle East) is the source of the greatest potential savings, but the application of a policy of nonintervention here would require exacting and patient diplomacy and consequently would take at least a decade to implement. We might *hope* for an orderly devolution of military power and defensive responsibility to our present European allies themselves; but we could not insure that they would pick up this burden. Ultimately, they would have to make their own judgments and decisions.

In the Middle East, also, our policy should be one of disengaging from, rather than intensifying, involvment. We have been aggravating the strategic and diplomatic dependency of Israel and other nations on the United States. The present administration seems, if anything, to have picked up the expanding commitment of its predecessor and has no design for the Middle East except to give Israel more extensive and explicit American security guarantees—not particularly welcome or even credible—in return for our distinctly unwelcome pressure to give up territory and accept a Palestinian state on the West Bank. At the same time, however, we seem to have mortgaged our Middle East policy to Saudi Arabia in return for a more flexible attitude toward the price and future delivery of oil. On the contrary, all our moves with regard to the Middle East should be directed toward hedging more seriously against involvement in any future conflict and against the economic effects of another disruption of oil supplies.

To ask, "why have a foreign policy at all?" is an impolite, even outrageous, question to the practitioners of this art.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

At the end of a decade of adjustment, there might remain in Europe no American forces and in and around the United States, in some sense oriented to Europe and the Mediterranean, 3 1/3 land divisions with associated forces. This residual force structure would cost about $23 billion a year (in 1978 terms), saving, ultimately, about $32 billion from the force structure requested by the present administration for Europe for 1978. (Besides these forces loosly oriented to regions, we would keep a strategic reserve of about 2 2/3 divisions and other related forces—costing about the same as now.)

Actually, the forces retained here still constitute a formidable armed establishment. Prudent instincts counsel that we would still want such a "second-chance"

force, as a modest hedge against unknown-unknowns and commensurate with our continuing importance in the world. Quite the opposite of many critics, I would rather have too many forces for a more modest schedule of missions than too few forces to support a continuing global responsibility.

For impressive and long-lasting savings, we have to cut *missions*, not the defense budget per se.

With regard to strategic nuclear forces, we must recognize that the inexorable creep of technology—Soviet accuracy and MIRVed warheads—has begun to render our present fixed land-based missiles vulnerable. Thus, the continuing presence of these missiles on our soil exposes our homeland to destruction and actually diminishes our security. But, instead of trying to remedy this vulnerability by the expensive deployment of mobile land-based missiles (the MX), we should accept this challenge as an opportunity to eliminate our land-based missiles entirely and move to a combination of stand-off bombers and submarines. And even within this set of strategic forces, it makes sense to cancel and stretch out certain very expensive individual weapons systems—respectively, the B-1 bomber (which could cost as muct as $100 billion over its 30-year lifetime) and the Trident submarine (which is costing over $20 billion just to procure 10 submarines).

Altogether, this noninterventionist force structure would provide 8 land divisions, 19 equivalent tactical air wings, and 6 carrier task forces. It would require 1.25 million men and, at the end of a decade of adjustment, would cost about $70 billion a year (in 1978 dollars). This contrasts with the present administration's scheme of 19 land divisions, 45 tactical air wings, and 13 carrier task forces, with 2.1 million men, and requested spending authority of over $120 billion a year. Of course, the cost of a noninterventionist force would rise with inflation, year by year, but so would the administration's force structure. By 1985, the administration will, if not checked, be spending over $200 billion for "defense" and we could save, from that figure, as much as *$85 billion a year.*

No matter how "vital" our elites consider our overseas interests, the American people should be asked whether they want to lay out the *extra* two-thirds of a trillion dollars that this will cost in the next decade. Yet there is scarcely a place in our decision-making apparatus where these issues can be raised in this form and presented for popular consideration and judgment.

The standard objection when anyone gestures toward the horizon of nonintervention and defense savings is: "What about the Russians?" It has become traditional for secretaries of defense—and more recently, many others—to cite fearsome increases in Soviet military activity.

There are several answers to these concerns. The first is to point out that the Soviet buildup does not yet add up to the conclusion that the United States is "behind," even if we keep score as the warhawks do. Nevertheless, it is quite plausible that *next* year, or the year after that, the Russians will fulfill *this* year's hawkish estimates. And what will we say then?

The real answer to the comparative numbers game is: "So what?" National security is not a tennis match. Our defense programs are derived from our foreign policy objectives, which in turn must have something to do with protecting our citizens and their property and their political system. "Second to none" is not the appropriate criterion. "Enough" is enough.

There may well be some "weaknesses" or "imbalances" in our worldwide military posture and our overall force structure. But these conditions are less likely to be rectified by the devotion of more resources than by the curtailment of our global mission.

NONMILITARY POLICY

Of course, in a complex world there are other components of national security than military force. In trying to restore the constitutional balance at home and the balance of resources and goals abroad, this country can still be responsive, compassionate, and effective in many nonmilitary functions without breaching the canons of a noninterventionist policy. But the concept of intervention does place some *limits* on the reach and the fervor of many of our global activities.

We can collaborate, cooperate, align policies with other nations over a wide range of economic, social, and humanitarian issues in a common effort to relieve pressures and grievances that could boil up in aggressive and destructive actions by other nations or peoples. But the very fact that the world *is* becoming—as the jargon goes—more "interdependent" means that it is even more urgent that all these functional issues be treated in *noninterventionist* ways in order to contain and localize any conflicts that might arise. The presumption that trouble, of any kind, anywhere in the world, has to be made an item of universal strategic contention must be reversed. What is at stake here is the need to adjust our own nation to living in a world that is out of our control.

Talk about the advent of a multipolar world has become fashionable, at least since Henry Kissinger made this point in 1968. But our foreign policy and our defense preparations have not really taken this fact into account, in practical and tangible terms. We have been sliding into a more confused, less manageable world, where the various forms of power are

The United States can still be responsive, compassionate, and effective without breaching the canons of noninterventionism.

Coming Next Month:

The August REASON takes a searching look at the problem of bringing about a free society. Is the Libertarian Party really an effective means for achieving this goal? Eric Scott Royce thinks it isn't, and compares the LP's accomplishments with those of other minor parties in U.S. history. On the contrary, writes Ed Crane, the LP's achievements to date are nothing less than remarkable. From another perspective, economist Milton Friedman has some controversial advice for the libertarian movement, in an exclusive REASON interview. Friedman, 1976 Nobel Prize winner in economics, also reflects on the successes and disappointments of his long, productive career. Also in the issue: Robert Sheaffer casts a skeptical eye at the renewed interest in UFOs and other paranormal phenomena, and Jim Davidson reports on the valiant struggles of a private college to keep free of State control.

more diffuse and less usable. One of the consequences is that we don't know, to the same extent as before, who our friends are and who our enemies are; and even if we know this now, we don't know for how long, and to what extent, and on what issues, friends will be friends and enemies will be enemies.

Yet, so pervasive has been the illusion of control in the past 25 years that a proposal of adjustment to a world that is out of control strikes many observers as, not only aberrant, but irresponsible and even threatening. They cast charges of "Fortress America," "isolationism," "turning our backs on the world." Well, is this "isolationism"? Does that even matter? Isolationism—even if we are willing to call it that—has a long and largely honorable history in our country. Far from being an unstable and aberrant stance, "isolationism," of various types, has been, if anything, the fundamental American orientation toward the world.

When are we going to have foreign policymakers who can make elemental investment decisions?

But the real point is not whether our arguments are congenial or heartwarming. Foreign policy is not a matter of listing preferences and trying to bully the country into supporting them with large donations of resources, blood, and trust. We must take into account the *cost* side of the equation. Whether *we* do or not, history will do the accounting for us. And not all of the costs are economic ones.

SECURING LIBERTY

There is a connection—which libertarians recognize more acutely than most people—between what we aspire and pretend to do abroad and the way we are governed at home. It is a myth that democratic political procedures and what our elites are pleased to call foreign policy "effectiveness" reinforce each other, that they run in the same direction. In fact, there is a trade-off between these two.

During the past several years, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has stalked the Western world, reminding us of our values and our obligations to others. Anyone reading or hearing Solzhenitsyn must be impressed with (1) his passionate devotion to liberty, and (2) his imposition of an obligation on the West—particularly the United States—to help establish liberties in the Soviet Union and other countries that do not now enjoy them. (Certainly the Carter administration has taken these injunctions more seriously than its predecessor and has given them a new relevance in the actual conduct of diplomacy.)

But few people detect the practical contradiction in these two propositions, the contradiction with important implications for another concern: the "effectiveness" of our government's foreign policy. For we live in a world of national communities, and to bring about even the most benign effects in other countries implies and requires sustained, concerted national action. In the face of heterogeneous attitudes and different degrees of concern among our individual citizens and groups, we can scarcely have that kind of sustained, concerted foreign policy output. Or worse, as we know from our own recent national experience, we can't have it without mobilization or regimentation or deception or repression, that is, without the negation of the contract between a representative government and its free citizens—in short, without the subversion of our constitution.

Thus, we have what I call the "Wilsonian paradox." It begins with a pretense of expansive concern for the propagation of our ideals in the world, and it ends with stunting and shriveling the very liberties we might have hoped to bring to others.

We have just completed a year of bicentennial reminiscences. But, to many who respect the founders of this country, the celebrations had a hollow ring, because those who were putting on this show didn't understand the statesmen who founded this country. Those founders were smarter than the ones who have been governing our country more recently. Even if they didn't have the ineffable benefits of systems analysis and think tanks, they had certain basic relationships straight. They knew that, in trying aggressively to extend the benefits and the characteristics of our political system abroad, in external adventures, we would not only dissipate our resources and our energies but would wreck the balance of our polity.

In the wake of the excesses of the Nixon presidency, it became a cliche to say that the most important task of a president would be to restore public trust in government. Of course, that begs the question of what a president *does* with that trust, even if he could restore it. But, in any case, this country was founded on *distrust* of government. It can survive distrust of government precisely because it was *designed* to survive and operate very nicely in the face of a healthy skepticism from citizens.

Well, let's test the temper of *our* times. Let's say that any one of those founding fathers were to return and say: "I hate the notion, the spectacle, of presidential monarchy. I'm more concerned for the integrity of our freedoms than for the political character of some nation halfway across the globe. And, if it came to that, I'd rather take a loss—if you can call it that—somewhere in the international system than compromise or damage the fabric of our society and our constitution. And I would, if I had the chance, work to restore a situation in this country where those principles would prevail."

The new "consensus" on foreign policy is nothing but a laundry list of predilections.

How many of the self-appointed elites of our present foreign policy community would entrust one of those who founded this country, if he were to appear again, with power? How many—ever among those liberals who, briefly, a few years ago, were compaining about the "imperial presidency"—would consider him fit to hold public office?

That is the constitutional tension that exists today, and that tension defines the primary political task of thinking, caring citizens—not to make the world safe for anything in particular, but to make this country safe for liberty; to make that notion respectable enough to command a hearing again; to reverse the burden of proof of patriotism, honor, and good sense. ◧

Earl C. Ravenal worked in the Defense Department, 1967-69, and now teaches at Johns Hopkins and Georgetown. He has contributed to *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and other journals and newspapers.

LUCIFER'S LEXICON
by L. A. Rollins

out-of-the-body experience, n. An out-of-the-mind experience.

poorhouse, n. A home for conscientious taxpayers—the ultimate tax shelters.

taxpayer, n. A beast of burden; specifically, an ass.

unemployment insurance, n. In the U.S., a system of insuring unemployment.

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Once in a while, a book appears that promises to have a direct impact on politics. **Cut Local Taxes** is such a book. Taxpayers across the country today are angry about rising assessments and property taxes. They have expressed their feelings by voting down bond issues and new spending proposals. Yet taxes continue to soar—and citizens are looking with increasing concern for a solution to the problem.

Cut Local Taxes shows that taxpayers can find relief. The author, professional consultant Robert Poole, Jr., has sifted through the cost-cutting breakthroughs created by some communities. He highlights the best and most effective of these changes, with particular emphasis on reforms that can be adopted by most local governments, large or small.

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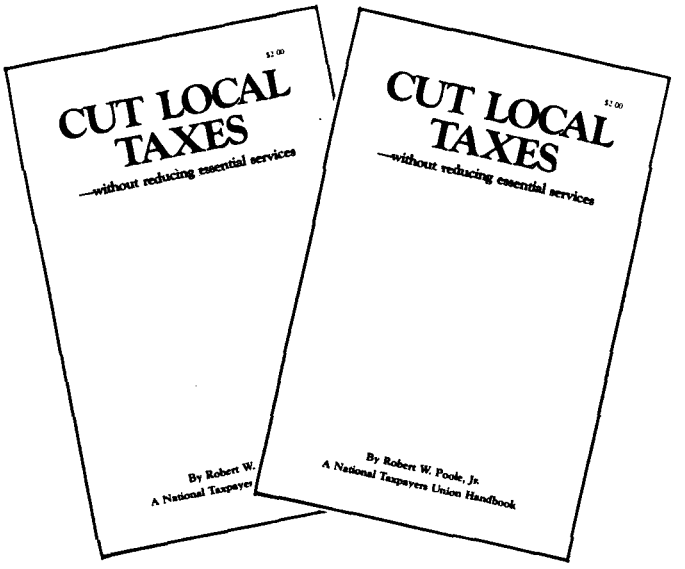

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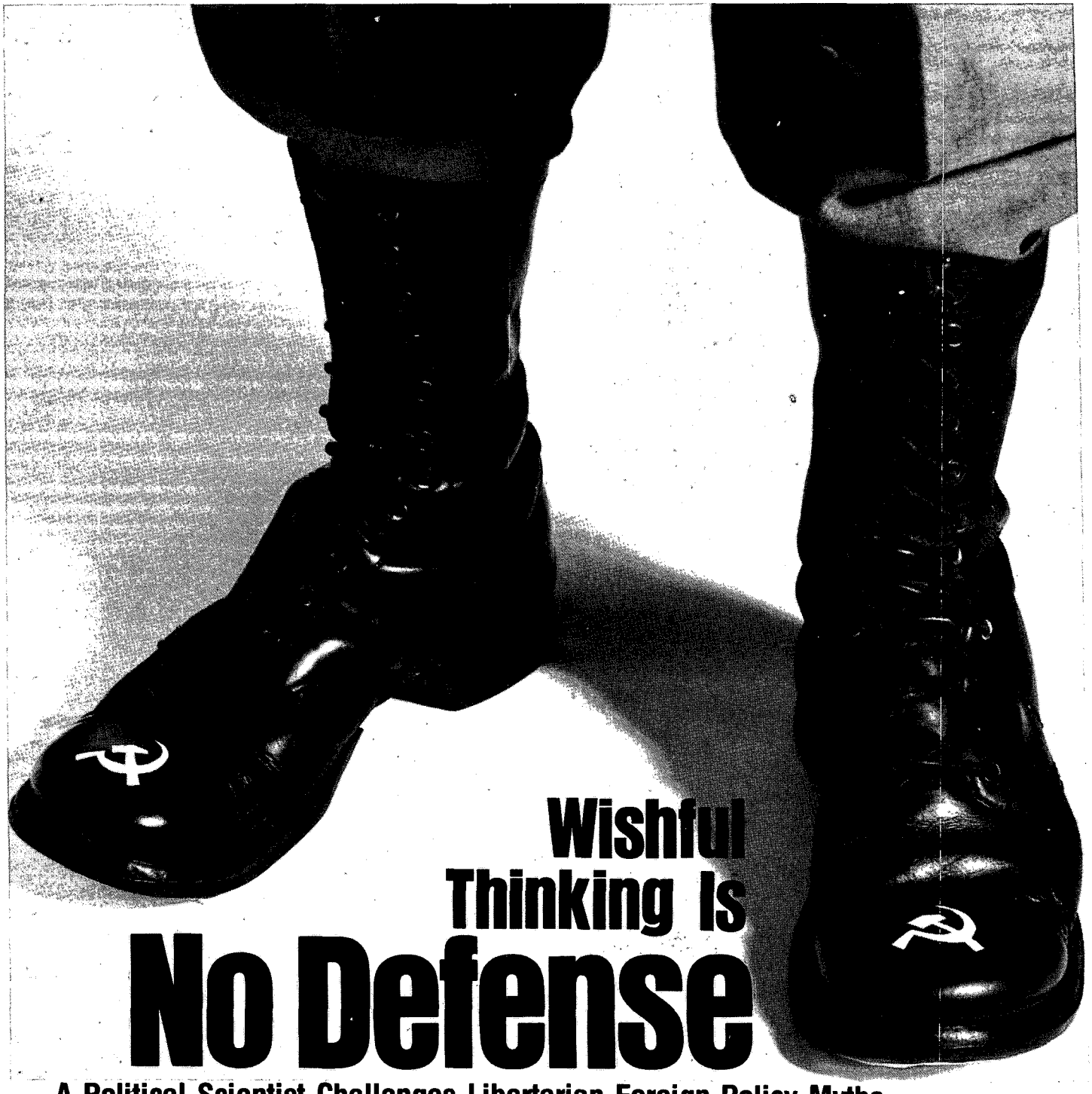


Wishful Thinking Is No Defense

A Political Scientist Challenges Libertarian Foreign Policy Myths

photo by Jeffrey Hettler

by R.J. Rummel

It is time to realize that libertarian foreign policy positions, ranging from a call for American unilateral disarmament to a call (in the person of the party's presidential candidate, Roger MacBride) for American neutrality and minimum nuclear deterrence, would be the death of us all. We must face the fact of a hostile and aggressive Communist philosophy—the precise opposite of the libertarian creed. The only barrier protecting existing freedoms is American military strength and will, but this barrier is about to crumble. And many libertarians, who above all should fear Communism in all its totalitarian varieties, are weakening this barrier further. They are contributing not only to their own eventual demise but to the end of what freedoms mankind still enjoys.

On what basis do I assert this? I have provided the necessary evidence on the growth in Soviet military power and American weakness in *Peace Endangered: The Reality of Detente.* What I want to do here is, not to repeat details and technical arguments, but to bring my conclusions to the attention of others who love freedom and to relate these conclusions to the libertarian perspective. Let's consider, then, various libertarian foreign policy positions.

DISMISS THE STATE

That the State should be dismantled, including its role in foreign policy, is a solid libertarian position. But it is a *goal* toward which we must work, while recognizing the need for a transition during which the functions the state has monopolized are transferred gradually to private enterprise. It is folly to dismantle the city fire department while it is fighting a

major downtown blaze. Eliminating welfare and social security in one day would create major dislocation and human suffering. Similarly, suddenly dismantling the State and Defense departments would open the door to those totalitarian states with the means to march in.

We must discriminate between long-run goals—a libertarian direction—and immediate necessities. In the short term, we may need to increase the state's power in some areas to preserve our ability to move eventually toward the libertarian goal. This is seen no better than in foreign policy. Clearly, were we attacked by Soviet military forces our government would have to be given more power to counter this threat and defend the freedoms we do have. We could not wait for private initiatives; adequate defense would require our accepting more centralized state command and control.

We are precisely in this situation. We *are* under attack, although by all means short of nuclear war. And we *are* losing. Moreover, the Soviets almost have the capability (if needed to overcome our sudden realization of imminent peril) to shift the attack to the nuclear level.

It is ludicrous to eliminate state-run defenses without an immediate replacement.

But this immediate need for the state to protect us from the dangerous Communist offensive requires neither a return to the draft nor higher taxes.

Libertarian methods can aid in increasing our defense, even though through the state. For example, if Americans are informed about the war we are now fighting, if the evidence is presented fairly, they will rally voluntarily to defend our liberties. Americans are basically libertarian, and, rightfully and historically, they believe in a strong America.

In other words, the libertarian solution is to call for a defense of freedom in the spirit of freedom. It is ludicrous to eliminate state-run defenses without an immediate replacement.

A STATE IS A STATE

Related to the recommendation that the state be summarily dismantled is the idea that the disappearance of a state anywhere is a happy event for libertarians. The implication of this position is that libertarians should be opposed to any U.S. involvement against Communist aggression elsewhere. This is libertarian abstractionism carried to absurd lengths.

Should a libertarian rejoice if the end of a state militarily overrun by another ends in thousands of executions that otherwise would not have occurred? The Soviet Union "absorbed" Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia; and millions were subsequently liquidated. But four states were reduced to one. North and South Vietnam are now "unified." Over 200,000 Vietnamese are now in concentration camps; thousands have vanished; all liberties in the South are gradually being eroded; and a blood bath is inevitable. And need I mention the 500,000 to 800,000 Cambodians who were butchered in a single year by their new Communist elite? Why go on? It is mainly American power extended abroad that protects existing freedoms elsewhere. Withdraw that power, and mass slaughter and slavery follow.

Libertarians often fail to distinguish the many shades of gray between black and white. True, our big government restrains and frustrates us in countless ways (and as one who has founded both a private research institute and a small business, I am particularly sensitive to this). But compared to Communist societies, we have infinite freedom—including that to organize, speak, and teach openly for an end to our government.

We are involved now in a global struggle for freedom against slavery. The further loss of freedom elsewhere diminishes our own. But in addition to that, can the libertarian, morally, stand by as the liberties of others are denied, as people are killed en masse? We live in an age when human lives by the millions are snuffed out in order to eradicate any trace of libertarian thought. Should libertarians isolate themselves from this?

Again, however, U.S. involvement abroad need not mean the draft nor higher taxes. Again, libertarian solutions are possible, albeit in the short run through the mechanism of the state. If the issue is correctly focused, and the nature of the struggle emphasized, people would gladly offer their services and their wealth. And I am pleased to believe that libertarians would be in the forefront.

NEUTRALITY AND DETERRENCE

Another position advanced is that the United States should be *neutral* in international affairs. We could be—if we wished to commit suicide. A neutral United States would mean the gradual Finlandization, satellization, or absorption of the rest of the world by the Soviet Union. The reason for this is clear. Only American power organized by the foreign policy of containment has restricted Soviet aggression, until the Nixon-Kissinger policy of detente. Without the United States, no combination of countries has the power jointly to stand up to Soviet demands. Even China could not long resist Soviet military power.

Ah, but it is said, the Soviet Union is not aggressive. It would not fill the vacuum created by an American policy of neutrality. But libertarians, above all, should understand that state power aggrandizes itself and that totalitarian power must expand. The United States can be no Switzerland, which, happily, as a minor country centrally placed in Europe, serves as a convenient neutral ground among contending big powers. Switzerland would not have survived had Hitler won the Second World War or had Stalin succeeded in communizing Europe after the war.

In today's nuclear world, only the United States and Soviet Union count. And if the United States declares neutrality, there is no other balancer.

Within an otherwise communized world, could the United States long remain free? Of course not. Trade and the raw materials essential for our defense

It is mainly American power extended abroad that protects existing freedoms elsewhere.

would be cut off, our borders would be permeable to subversive movements and supplies to internal guerrilla groups, and we would become an armed camp—a garrison state. We would become the South Vietnam of this hemisphere, but in this case without external aid.

What about securing our neutrality by maintaining a minimum nuclear deterrence? Could we not maintain sufficient nuclear weapons at the current or a reduced level to deter aggression? The answer is no. It's questionable whether libertarians really want to kill 100 million Russians if attacked, but in any case our present strategic forces have become so weakened compared to the Soviet's offensive power that within a year they could have a first-strike capability. They could annihilate much of our strategic retaliatory force and that which survived—largely in our Polaris and Poseidon submarines—could kill, at most, only four percent of the Soviet population. This is well within acceptable costs to Communist rulers who already have killed well over 20 million of their own people to maintain their totalitarian grip.

We must, above all, recover our stra-

tegic superiority over the Soviet Union. Our current vulnerability and their growing strength will soon beg a Soviet first strike or nuclear blackmail. No libertarian should anticipate with equanimity superior nuclear power in the hands of totalitarian elitists. This libertarian cannot.

In any case, the arguments of many libertarians boil down essentially to this. We in our house can be neutral and safe while thugs are terrorizing others on the block, even though the carbines and grenades for the block are stored in our house. Indeed, we can throw most of these weapons out the window. But if our house is attacked, we'll either retreat to the bedroom and fight it out there or, in the more "sophisticated" version, level all the other houses on the block, thugs and neighbors alike. What is not realized is that while we have grenades and carbines, the thugs are hauling in cannons and machine guns.

I submit: the necessary libertarian approach would be to organize the block against the threat to everyone's freedom.

COMMUNIST INEPTNESS

At this point, many respond that, even if internal Communists took over or we were occupied by Soviet forces, the country is too big and diverse to control—libertarians could wage an effective underground campaign. With modern electronic equipment and weapons, however, plus the power of pure terror to control a population, the United States *could* be managed, and opposition could be reduced to irrelevant pockets, to be eliminated gradually. Consider the effective Communist control in the Soviet Union and China, which are far more geographically and demographically diverse and larger than the United States.

Should a libertarian rejoice if the end of a state militarily overrun by another ends in thousands of executions?

The libertarian must understand that the modern technology of repression and terror means that once our freedoms are lost a new dark age, centuries long, will descend on man. The only hope remaining will be that the slow forces of history—of internal schism and decay—will bring a new flowering of freedom. At the unthinkable cost of how many billion lives?

A similar response is that even if Soviet forces were to win a global victory, their inefficient and inept bureaucracy and economy would not allow them to encompass and control Western, developed socio-economic systems. Of course, from a rational economic perspective the backward Soviet system could not centrally administer nor absorb the more developed, semi-socialist economies of the West. But, the Soviets dominate economics by coercion, terror, repression. Were they to politically subjugate the West, they would gradually transform Western economies into Soviet economic satellites (as they did the far more developed East Germany after 1945, and Czechoslovakia after 1948; as North Vietnam is now doing to the South), while structurally transforming them into their sort of inefficient economic systems.

Power, not economics, is the name of the game. How else can one explain the gradual transformation of the American free market into the more inefficient, semisocialist bureacratic system we now have?

STATES OF WAR

Somewhere in this debate one usually encounters the claim that the United States knowingly brought about the Pearl Harbor attack and caused the Cold War and, furthermore, that all States have been aggressive in foreign policy. The cause of war *is* the state—agreed. As states expand in internal control, wars intensify. The best hope of peace is the cultivation of libertarian societies, as can be shown by scientific research on war.

The United States may have maneuvered Japan into a Pearl Harbor attack, although it seems more likely that we made unacceptable demands on Japan, anticipating a possible military confrontation in Indochina or the Philippines. And the United States may have stimulated the Cold War, although, if at fault, I believe it was as a victim who creates a struggle by resisting a mugger. But assume that the United States did purposely provoke the Pacific war and the Cold War. So what?

The issue is not that all states are aggressive but that we (our state, if you will) are *now* threatened by the most powerful incarnation of statism: the Soviet Union. This threat is not an illusion created by elitists, statists, militarists. It exists. The Soviet elite constantly reiterate their goal of defeating capitalism everywhere (which goal they call peaceful coexistence). And their surging military expenditures (which now are 42 percent greater than ours) attest to their veracity. Our problem—the libertarian issue par excellence—is how, in a libertarian manner, to protect from aggressive Communism what freedoms we have.

BE REALISTIC!

Then what might a libertarian foreign policy be? It should be a policy of *realism,* one that knows that the bed-rock American national interest is the support of liberty, wherever it exists and wherever it is under threat. The rights of the individual to the freedom of speech, of religion, and to pursue his own life and happiness are still the essence of America. Ours is still a land of unequalled opportunity, affluence, and liberty. In this interdependent world, whenever the freedom of one is diminished, that of free men elsewhere is threatened. Our liberty could not be preserved as an island in a sea of totalitarianism.

A neutral United States would mean the gradual Finlandization of the rest of the world by the Soviet Union.

A policy of realism recognizes that the primary struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union is between liberty and totalitarianism. It is not a struggle of geopolitical interests, of resources, of spheres of influence. It is not a competition between states. It is a moral struggle. It is between whether man will determine his own life or have it forcibly determined for him by some self-selected elite; whether man will enjoy the inalienable rights to be protected from the state or be totally subject to the state.

The struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States is a protracted conflict in which the central and long-run goal of the Soviet elite is to defeat Western freedoms and bring the world under Communist influence and control. Short-run Soviet agreements and negotiations are always a part of a matrix with this one, long-run dimension.

What, then, can a policy of realism suggest about our relations with the Soviet Union? Such a policy should be guided by the following six principles.

First, we must take every opportunity to contrast the freedoms Americans now have and the libertarian ideal with the totalitarianism enslaving Soviet citizens. We should reaffirm our fundamental support of freedom and recognize our identity of interests with free men everywhere. We should understand that a strong national interest can be based only on *moral ideals* and that America

still has the ideal of freedom woven into its national fabric.

Second, we should inform Americans about the truth of our military inferiority and about Soviet aims and military power. Americans will back *voluntarily* a strong national interest in freedom if they know the truth about the threats we face. People must be enlightened at every turn about what it is that endangers us, about life under Communism, about the tens of millions of Soviet citizens killed, about the terror and repression used to maintain Communism. Then American dedication to protect freedom against this absolute tyranny can be reborn.

Third, we should rebuild our conventional military capability to meet Communist threats whenever they occur and whatever their nature. This should raise the threshold for using nuclear weapons and for the risk of an escalation to nuclear war.

Fourth, we should improve the invulnerability of our offensive strategic forces and more than match the Soviet strategic drive. The probability of nuclear peace depends on an American strategic superiority. Moreover, we must appreciate that deterrence can still fail and that we must therefore protect our cities, through active and passive strategic defenses, against blackmail and attack.

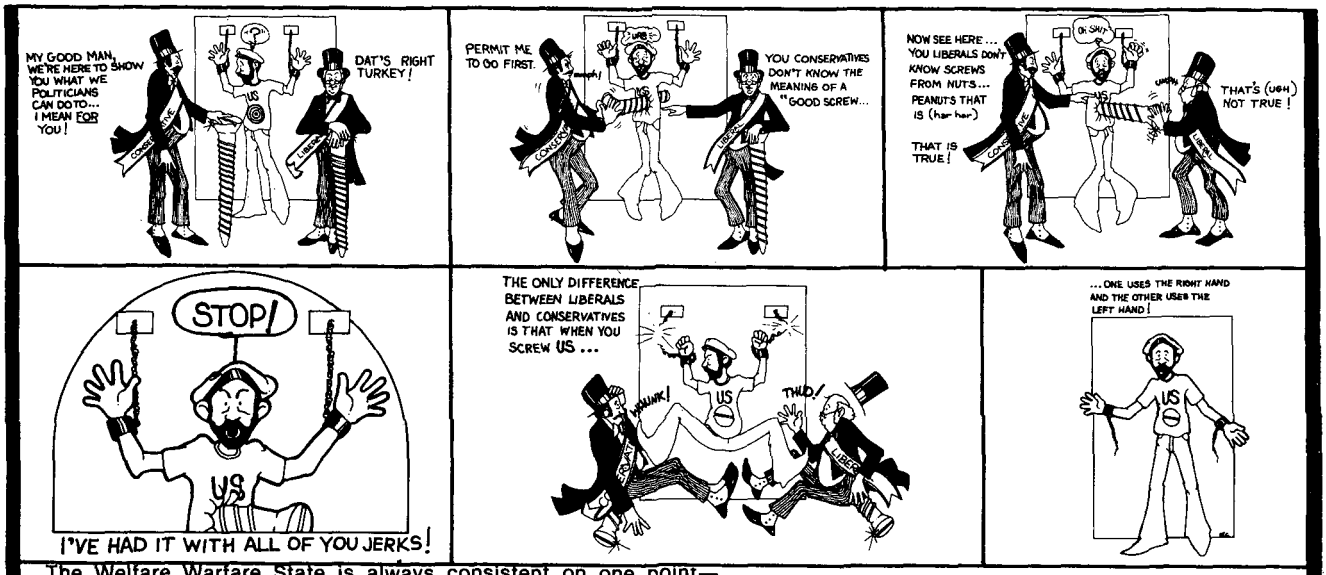
Fifth, we should stop aiding the Soviet Union. Soviet investment in military superiority is eased by American and Western aid and trade. Moreover, the ability of Soviet leaders to control their people is enhanced by American and Western technology and products. If Communism is truly superior, let it show this without help from its capitalist enemies.

Finally, while we must continue to negotiate with the Soviets on issues and mutual problems, we must accept, as they do, only terms that are to our immediate and practical benefit. We should avoid agreements that enable the Soviets to harvest short-run gains by giving lip service to long-run abstractions like peace, cooperation, or relaxation of tensions.

A policy of realism recognizes that Communism is the libertarian's self-proclaimed enemy. It comprehends that freedom with dignity and with peace can be bought only by asserting our national interest in freedom, by informing Americans about the threat we face, by rebuilding our military power. Thomas Paine expressed this well in the year of our birth as a nation—

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom
must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it. ◧

R. J. Rummel teaches political science at the University of Hawaii and is director of the PATH Institute of Research on International Problems. He is the author of numerous books and articles on international politics and war.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OH SHIT!
THAT'S (UGH) NOT TRUE!
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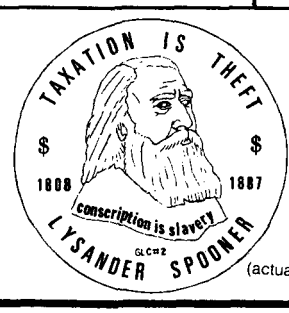

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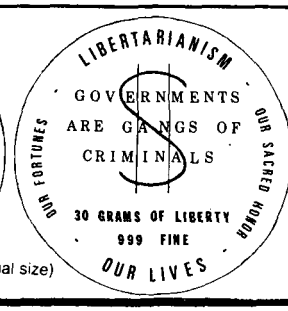

PERMISSIBLE DEFENSE

Isolationism no more follows from libertarian ideals than does interventionism.

by Eric Mack

Angola. Vietnam. Mayaguez. Cuba. Rhodesia. Israel. Chile. NATO. SALT.... What should U.S. foreign policy be or have been? Many libertarians have a ready answer: isolationist. The commonly invoked, and unclear, notion of isolationism is thus a good take-off point in considering a sound libertarian evaluation of current and prospective U.S. foreign policy.

Let's consider three distinct isolationist demands. This will allow a more sensitive survey of relevent considerations than would be possible if isolationism were characterized in some single sense.

1. Defensive military action by the U.S. government should be taken only on behalf of U.S. citizens residing within the U.S. territory or U.S. citizens' holdings lying within U.S. territory.
2. In its defensive military measures the U.S. government should proceed unilaterally—entering no alliances or compacts with any other state (or protective institution).
3. Defensive military action by the U.S. government should take place only within or within the vicinity of U.S. territory.

The first demand should not be confused with the third, for what counts is the location of threatened persons or their property versus the location of the defensive activity. Whereas the third demand rules out any operation within the territory of a distant aggressor, the first simply rules out operations (even within U.S. territory?) on behalf of U.S. citizens in or investing in the territories staked out by other states. Nor are the second and third demands identical. Some, but not all, military actions outside the vicinity of the U.S. might involve alliances or compacts; and some, but not all, alliances might require U.S. action outside the vicinity of its territory.

Often isolationist demands pass under the label "noninterventionist." This confuses matters. Interventionism has to do with getting involved in the affairs of countries that are not aggressing against the intervener's citizens for the purpose of arranging things within or among those countries in ways pleasing to the intervener. The demand that the United States be neither a world policeman nor a do-gooder busybody is a very modest one and does not establish the isolationist demands. For these put forward restrictions on when, how, or where the government should act against governments that are, or are alleged to be, aggressing against U.S. citizens.

The isolationist recommendations could be argued for along three distinct lines. According to the first, the free-market, private protective agency is the libertarian paradigm of a force-wielding organization and such an organization would be isolationist (in the senses embodied in some or all of the isolationist demands). The second line of argument is the limited governmentalist's counterpart to the first. It asserts that the strictly limited state is the libertarian paradigm of a force-wielding organization and that such an organization would be isolationist. The clincher is the same in either case: to press isolationist demands upon the current U.S. government is merely to insist that it become more like the libertarian paradigm. Isolationism is taken to be part of the ideal package, and for that reason its adoption by today's U.S. state is seen as desirable. (Even though we may not find any particular person explicitly and consciously arguing just along either of these lines, they lurk behind many libertarians' remarks about foreign policy.)

In contrast, there is a third line of argument that does not see isolationism as characteristic of the paradigmatically legitimate organization. Instead, it is urged upon the existing state because, roughly, given the nature of this particular state and the world today, isolationism is our best bet for maintaining our rights while not violating the rights of others. The third line of argument requires spelling out some general principle of *permissible defense* which, when applied to the current United States, requires isolationism. The first two, on the other hand, apply a general principle of *isolationism* to current policy.

What of the soundness of these three arguments?

FREE-MARKET ANARCHISM AND ISOLATIONISM

The notion of isolationism and its various demands are tied so tightly to the notion of state territories that it is at least close to unintelligible to speak of free-market protective agencies being isolationist. True, a given private agency competing with other nonterritorial agencies in the business of selling genuine protective services might adopt the policy of not offering to protect its clients when they traveled to or invest in areas far from that agency's base of operations. But this could not be described as the agency's refusing to protect what was outside of *its territory*—unless we define an agency's territory as the totality of areas in which it is prepared to protect. But if we do, then every agency, indeed every state, will automatically and necessarily be isolationist!

Besides, no agency would be *required* to protect only what is relatively near its base of operations. Some agencies might specialize in the protection of persons or property in exotic locales. It's easy to imagine, for instance, an organization headquartered in New York which specialized in protecting developers of oil fields from nasty nationalizers. A private protection agency would be free to take on charity cases. The Stonehead Agency might seek a profitable media-advertising image through providing (free to them) protection for Easter Islanders against Peruvian incursions. A private protective conglomerate might have operations scattered all over the world even though its headquarters and a majority of its customers were located within what is now the United States. Such an agency might, for instance, sell protection against terrorists in Ireland or Munich.

Furthermore, it is evident that free-market agencies could and likely would make all sorts of alliances—including alliances among agencies scattered all over the world. Among these would be the crucial alliances against the proverbial bandit agencies and alliances to maintain weapon systems that agencies might not be able to afford individually.

Nor is there any principle requiring an agency to conduct its genuinely defensive or restitutive actions solely in the vicinity of its clients or their property. If my protective agency can defend me in my home only by sending a platoon of its (private) marines around the world to destroy the installation of the mad scientist who has it in for me, they have every right to send that platoon.

Clearly, then, we can*not* demand isolationism as a necessary characteristic of free-market anarchism's paradigm force-wielding institution.

LIMITED GOVERNMENT AND ISOLATIONISM

Does the ideal of limited government—an organization that holds a monopoly on the sale of protective services within a given territory but only engages in protective activities—point to a policy of isolationism? Certainly isolationist demands are more intelligible within this ideal than within the free-market anarchist ideal. Nevertheless, the second and third isolationist demands can readily be dismissed here, too. There is no general reason why the defensive activities of a limited government must be confined to the vicinity of its territory. Just as in the case of market defense firms, its troops may legitimately strike at the distant home-base of an aggressor. Nor is there any general reason why a limited government could not enter into defensive alliances with other states. If, for each of two governments, defense against attack upon their citizens by a third power would be permissible, then surely coordinated defense against an attack by this third party upon both of them would be permissible. Further, each would be free to compact with others for assurances of defensive aid should one of them be attacked. The principles involved here are exactly the same as those which would allow coordination among private defense agencies.

There is no high, sacred, libertarian principle of isolationism.

A limited government, too, with the appropriately defined consent of its citizens, would be free to take on charity cases and free to lower its cost to its primary clientele by taking on additional contract work. Its citizens would be free (like the shareholders of corporations) to mandate that the government provide its services to the Easter Islanders or that it seek revenues as a subcontractor for other (at least relatively libertarian) governments.

What of the first demand—that defense be provided for citizens or their property only when they are within the territory of the state? On one version of what a limited libertarian government would be, there is a plausible rationale for this first (and most modest) isolationist demand. Focusing just on the protection of property, suppose that the limited monopoly government offers a particular level of protection to the property of those who reside within its territory in return for fees that are proportionate to the value of their property. Such a fee system, combined with the prohibition of alternative protectors, would amount to a forced subsidy from those whose property was relatively inexpensive to protect to those whose property was relatively expensive to protect.

One way for the monopoly government to avoid perpetrating such a subsidy would be for it to refuse to offer protection for property whose cost of protection is significantly higher than the average. If we assume that high-cost-of-protection properties are those within the territories of (certain?) other governments, we can conclude that the ideal limited government would not offer to protect the property of its citizens which was located within the territory of (certain?) other states.

Still, this argument is based on a special conception of how a limited government would operate. If we instead suppose that its fees were based upon the cost of protection (and not merely on the value of what is protected), then the specter of forced subsidy is removed without requiring that government to accede to the first isolationist demand.

We must conclude that neither of the competing libertarian ideals *require* the adoption of isolationism. There is no high, sacred, libertarian principle of isolationism.

LEGITIMATE DEFENSE

Defensivism*, not isolationism, is the general principle by which force-wielding organizations should relate to others. The question should not be, Is this action/policy truly isolationist? Rather, the question should be, Is this action/policy an implementation of *legitimate defense?* And here enters the third line of argument for isolationism—that, given the nature of this particular state and the world today, isolationism is our best bet for maintaining our rights while not violating the rights of others. Within this line there are three approaches. The first two, rather heavy-handed arguments for isolationism, focus on the legitimacy of the present U.S. state, the third on its legitimate *defense* policy.

According to the first approach, since the U.S. state is illegitimate, our program should be to whittle it down to nothing, to abolish each and every of its undertakings. Isolationism is merely a

* The term "defensivism" was coined and suggested to me by Professor Jeffrey Paul for the purpose of contrasting the approach that takes isolationism to be the general principle for evaluating foreign policies and the approach that takes a doctrine of permissible defense to be the relevant general principle.

partial expression of this abolitionism. But the question at hand is: *Given* that there is a U.S. state (and other states), what would be the best policy *for it?* And if this is the question we are assuming that our answer will cite some state-implemented policy. We are assuming that being state-implemented *as such* will not disqualify a policy. So merely indicating that interventionism is state-implemented is hardly sufficient, within the context of this question, for showing that it is wrong. (Of course, the argument might just come down to the insistence that nothing should exist that would not exist in a libertarian world. But if this were the argument, then it is evident that at least the free-market anarchist would have to come out against state isolationism. For there would be no state isolationism within a libertarian world as he conceives it. And even the limited governmentalist would come out against state isolationism. For there is nothing inherently isolationist about the ideal of a limited libertarian state.)

The second approach is that defensive military measures should be abolished because they are tax-supported. But if we are assuming the existence of a U.S. government and asking what policies are best adopted *by it*, then we are assuming that *some* tax-supported activities will go on (and some will be judged as most suitable for adoption). Within this context, the fact that an activity is tax-supported cannot be a reason for abolishing it, and we must evaluate activities on other grounds—according to some criterion of legitimate defense per se.

Unhappily, we do not have a fully developed and well-founded theory of legitimate defense.

Of course, as libertarians we want the cessation of all (nonrestitutive) forced exchanges and transfers. So there are two dimensions along which change must occur. First, the activities of force-wielding institutions that are carried on with the resources they control must be made to conform to libertarian principles. Second, the activities through which these institutions obtain resources must be made to conform to libertarian principles. In demanding a libertarian foreign policy we are demanding change along the first dimension. Roughly, we are demanding that the resources controlled by a particular force-wielding institution be employed by it only in the permissible defense of those persons it represents. We are pressing a demand that is different in character from, and independent of, the tax (i.e., the second dimension) issue.

The fact that the demand for libertarian *employment* of resources would also be pressed upon institutions that came by their resources legitimately shows that we cannot substitute for this first demand the separate (and equally important) demand that resources be legitimately obtained. Certainly it would be absurd to demand libertarian restrictions upon the employment of resources that force-wielding institutions control without also demanding an end to the violation of rights involved in taxation. But this second change, having to do with the acquisition of resources and not essentially with the character of their subsequent use, is best not thought of as a *foreign policy* change.

The anti-tax point as an argument for isolationism leads us away from the question at hand, namely, what defensive measures are best adopted by the tax-collecting U.S. government. More important, it misleadingly suggests that, vis-a-vis large-scale defense programs, what libertarians demand is simply the absence of each and every sort of activity that is currently financed through compulsory payments.

One must add, however, that there is an important causal connection between the way in which the state obtains its resources and the uses to which they are put. The tax-collecting state is vastly more free in how it will employ the resources it obtains than is any protective institution that has to support its activities through the sale of these activities as services to persons who are free to decline to purchase them. This is another reason why the demand for legitimate defensive use of those resources must be accompanied by (but not replaced by) the demand for the legitimate acquisition of those resources.

Further, the conclusion here is a limited one: citing the impermissibility of taxation cannot, in one fell swoop, settle what the foreign policy of the United States should be. Yet, this outcome does not preclude one from invoking the disvalue of higher taxes or of forced subsidies through taxes (in cash or kind—i.e., the draft) in subsequent foreign policy evaluations.

Finally, it is sometimes asserted (the third approach) that isolationism follows from the libertarian restriction of force to defensive ends. In a Libertarian Party position paper, Joseph Stromberg says, "Since our philosophy calls for the use of force only in self-defense against those who violate the rights of individuals to their life, liberty and justly acquired property, Libertarian principles call on the American government to restrict its use of force in international relations to repelling actual attacks on the United States itself."

Now consider these questions: Does it follow from the defense restriction that the rights of U.S. citizens which are exercised outside U.S. territory may not be protected? Does it follow that force may not be used to defend the rights of persons in other lands who authorize and pay for this defense? That the U.S. government may not enter alliances for the purpose of *deterring* attacks on the United States itself? That attacks may be "repelled," in the sense of counteracted, only within (the vicinity of) U.S. territory? Obviously the answer to each of these questions is no.

So isolationism hardly follows from libertarian defense principles as such. Of course, a correct view of permissible defense may, in combination with other reasons and evidence, sustain one or more isolationist demands. But this should be the subject of investigation, not prophesy.

PERMISSIBLE DEFENSIVISM

It would be a wonderful thing to have a fully developed and well-founded theory of legitimate defense. Unhappily, we don't. Yet a number of questions related to such a theory can be raised, and certain directions for such a theory can be suggested.

A theory of permissible defense requires an answer to the question, What may a person, or his duly authorized agent, do in the legitimate defense of his rights? Roughly, it seems that a person may do or have cause to have done to an aggressor whatever will least invasively prevent the aggressor from (further) violating the rights of that person. Yet this principle cannot be entirely correct. For according to it, if I could prevent another from unintentionally trespassing on the corner of my lawn only by killing him, I would be morally free to kill him. Furthermore, and more importantly, the principle as stated says nothing about the effect of one's defensive activities on innocent third parties, a problem that casts doubt on some defensive activities.

Imagine these situations: I can defend my continued possession of my automobile (my arm, my life) only by blowing up the whole city in which the person who is set on taking my car (my arm, my life) resides; I can stop an invasion only by blowing up enemy headquarters, including its population of innocent conscripts; I can stop an invasion only by firing through the lines of hostages which the genuine agressors are using as shields. Note that a very high percentage

of defensive activities will impose risks on some innocent bystanders and that in anything like a defensive war innocent bystanders or shields are certain to be impoverished, maimed, and killed. Those who, in arguments for isolationism, invoke the specter of innocent victims seem to be holding that actions which produce such victims cannot be legitimately defensive. Is this true?

Would necessary maimings and killings of innocent bystanders (necessary if one's rights were to be defended against some agressor) be violations of rights? If so, is there an absolute moral prohibition against such defensive acts? Should one (group) suffer many violations of rights rather than offer a defense that would itself violate any rights? Or is it a matter of how many innocents' rights would be violated compared to how many rights the defense would protect?

Not having in hand a theory to solve these queries, we can yet compare cases, making plausible the permissibility of killing (injuring) innocent bystanders if this is necessary to prevent oneself from being killed (injured? robbed?). Suppose that Joe Blow informs you that if you do not permit him to kill you, he will kill Mary Doe. It is clear that in this situation you may permissibly decline to be killed even though you know that this refusal will result in Doe's death. Suppose, alternatively, that Blow is about to shoot you to death and that your only means of survival is to fire through (and thereby kill) Doe.

In both cases, it is Blow's activity that requires that your saving yourself involves Doe's death. The only difference is that in the second case Blow's activity (shielding himself with Doe) *precedes* your saving yourself, while in the first case his activity (executing Doe) succeeds your saving yourself. The temporal difference isn't capable of making a moral difference between the two cases. Hence, if saving yourself in the first case is permissible, then so is saving yourself in the second case where you shoot through Doe.

MINIMIZING HARM

Permissible defense, then, may involve the infliction of harm or even death upon innocents. How much harm to innocents? If we say, "the least harmful act that accomplishes the defense," we stray from our tentative principles of permissible defense. For we will sometimes be endorsing a defensive act that is more harmful to the aggressor than the *least invasive* act against him necessary to protect the defender. This can be justified, however, along these lines: if we must choose between defensive actions, both of which would protect ourselves but which vary in the harm they would inflict on the aggressor and on innocents, we can think of ourselves as, within a limited range, acting also for the innocents. One in effect says to the innocents: "Given the mess created by the aggressor, I am going to defend myself by one of two actions. One of these acts (firing through your chest to maim the aggressor) is worse for you than the other (firing through your arm to kill the aggressor). You have the right to authorize me to minimize the harmful fall-out of the aggressor's threat. I presume you make such authorization. I accept it. And, therefore, in your name I will defend myself by means of the action that, while more invasive of the aggressor than my other alternative, is less harmful to you."

Tentatively, then, the principle of permissible defense, revised, runs like this: A person may defend his rights or cause his rights to be defended by invasive means if that defense is the least invasive measure against the aggressor which minimizes harm to innocents while protecting that person's rights.

Of course, whenever injury to innocent parties is avoidable (without irreparable damage to the defender) the general background requirement against violating rights prohibits such injury. Moreover, in the real world, many of the beliefs on which we base our actions are uncertain, and in deciding on the permissibility of defensive measures this uncertainty would seem to favor innocent third parties. For, in general, we can be relatively certain that contemplated large-scale defensive measures will injure innocents, while the probability that such acts will better protect the defender than alternative measures is, at least, low.

Threats can be defused, for example, through negotiated settlement. If the overall prospects for the preservation of the rights of a given party under a negotiated settlement are better than or equal to the overall prospects through military action and the recourse to military action involves harm to innocents, then that recourse is unjustified. It may be, for instance, that all sorts of risks connected with mutual nuclear disarmament treaties or even the first steps of unilateral disarmament would be rational in the light of the risks of continued (or intensified) nuclear confrontation.

FOREIGN HOLDINGS

Let's now consider the first isolated demand—focusing only on the protection of property and omitting the protection of persons. Should the current U.S. government protect the rights of its citizens to holdings within the territories of other states? Doesn't such protection in fact involve forced subsidies? Until the time that an assortment of protection policies is offered to individuals—more extensive protection for greater fees, specialized protection for special fees—there can be no fully satisfactory answer to this question.

Perhaps the best interim answer with respect to the subsidy problem is that the government should be prepared to expend the same resources on protecting the rights to holdings in other countries as it is prepared to expend in protecting comparable holdings within the United States. On this policy, overseas investors would receive no more benefits than comparable domestic investors, but would not, through *their* taxes, automatically be subsidizing domestic investors. Foreign investors requiring relatively high-cost protection would have to make their own arrangements for it.

Permissible defense may involve the infliction of harm or even death upon innocents.

Yet there are numerous other factors that argue for the disengagement from protection of foreign investments. In the case of large-scale investments involving accords between U.S.-based companies and foreign states, the legitimacy of the resulting property holding will usually be dubious. More likely than not, the United States would be coming to the defense of some unholy alliance of local oppressors (or aspiring local oppressors) and their corporate partners. It is not uncommon for the U.S. government to protect "private" U.S. interests against an economically statist regime by becoming that regime's economic and military bed-mate. In the process, the United States becomes coauthor and abettor of the rights-violating activities of that regime.

Numerous factors argue for the disengagement from protection of foreign investments.

A final policy alternative is direct military action. In principle, there would seem to be no objection to a low-cost, surgically precise zapping by U.S. (volunteer) forces of the wicked Minister of Nationalization who is about to expropriate the property of the morally upright

U.S.-based business. In principle what is done in such a case in no respect differs from what is done to the aspiring domestic thief. The question is, however, What would be the actual effect of authorizing the current U.S. state to perform such protective actions?

First, it is unlikely that the state's advisors would be able to discriminate between those who genuinely have a right to their foreign holdings and those who do not. Second, it is unlikely that those advisors would care about such discriminations. Their interest, rather, would be to stand behind certain types of government-corporate parterships or to use this particular occasion to flex military muscle or to topple politicians who, on quite other matters, were being troublesome. Third, the state's advisors are likely to over-assess their power to effect the result they favor and to under-assess the chances of being caught up in a vastly more extensive, complicated, and, even from their own perspective, morally dubious operation than they first envision.

All these considerations, especially if subject to more systematic development, seem capable of warranting a general prohibition on military and current-style diplomatic action toward defending the holdings within other states of U.S. citizens.

ALLIANCES

Should the current U.S. government enter into military pacts with other states? Defending the rights of other peoples is not an appropriate *end* for U.S. policy. But perhaps agreeing to defend or defending the citizens of some other states would be an effective and

What if defending the citizens of some other states would be an effective means of defending the rights of U.S. citizens?

permissible means of defending the rights of U.S. citizens. By so agreeing, the United States might secure the aid of those other states in defending U.S. citizens. Or by so defending, it might stave off a threat to its own citizens. The general principles here are the same as would legitimate two individuals agreeing to join forces against an aggressor or one individual aiding his neighbor in the repulsion of an aggressor.

A further possibility are pacts that merely provide the United States with additional means—for example, military bases—with which to defend its citizens. In favor of such pacts would be evidence that they contribute, especially in ways for which there are no alternatives, to the protection of individual rights in the United States against genuine foreign threats to these rights. Obviously if one thinks that there are no genuine threats, one will conclude that nothing speaks in favor of such pacts.

Unfortunately, it seems all too likely that a United States without a reliable nuclear deterrent defense would be subject to demands from the Soviet Union for incredible payments ("protection money"?) to buy our continued lives and freedoms. How would the United States react (how would the Soviet government expect it to react?) if, knowing that it had no nuclear deterrent defense, the Soviet Union demanded $500 billion in yearly tribute—the alternative being the city-by-city nuclear destruction of the country? Evidence, then, that a pact with another country contributes to a reliable nuclear deterrent is evidence in favor of such a pact.

Often isolationist-minded libertarians cite the Polaris submarine-missile system as the type of deterrent defense that would be sufficient for the United States. This sounds plausible. But suppose what is also plausible, namely, that at some technological point such a system would be vastly more reliable if there were scattered around the world, outside of U.S. territory, a number of special bases for such submarines. Suppose the United States were to rent the locations for such bases from the various states in whose territory they were. Would such pacts be impermissible even though maintaining a Polaris fleet without such bases would be allowable? Suppose that for an additional fee the United States were to induce these various states to protect the submarine bases against sabateurs? Would this addendum make the pacts improper on libertarian principles?

It is less easy to imagine a plausible case for conventional military bases or for alliances in support of conventional military operations. The argument for such pacts would have to invoke something like the domino theory, for example, that if Western Europe (plus Canada?) were to be subjugated by the Soviet Union, then the chances of the United States' suffering the same fate (or being subject to demands for immense tribute) would increase greatly—greatly enough to make the risks of such pacts rational. In connection with such an argument we would want to know what the Soviet Union would do in Europe without U.S. bases and pacts there and what they would be likely to do after that. We would want to know whether a Fortress America would be necessary and, if so, to what extent it would be technologically or economically feasible.

OBJECTIONS TO PACTS

Aside from failure to establish the need for them, there seem to be two sorts of considerations against military pacts. The first is the extent to which a pact would involve (perhaps inherently snowballing) support for rights-violating regimes. The second is the extent to

It is hardly self-evident that *no* far-flung military operations would be warranted.

which military association with another state might draw the United States into conflicts that it would otherwise have nothing to do with. In the past, assurances of U.S. military aid and cooperation have pretty clearly encouraged regimes both in the repression of their own population and in the pursuit of war-risking policies. Furthermore, the formation of military alliances may act as provocations of those against whom the alliances are directed. Even when provocation is not a factor, the increased risk to U.S. citizens from having our state militarily tied to another state may easily outweigh the value, if any, of having that state "on our side."

Two more points may be added here. First, in many instances—NATO is probably a good example—U.S. military pacts have been intimately tied to international statist economic arrangements. While in principle it may be possible to imagine pacts that were not employed as cards in statist economic games, it is doubtful that the actual decision-makers in any near-future U.S. state would, if allowed to continue such alliances, resist using them as pieces in a larger economic-political game. Second and more generally, there does exist a massive military-industrial complex. And every occasion of military production or activity, whether in itself justified or not, serves as a device for insuring and expanding the power of this complex—a power that, overall, massively misallocates resources, encroaches on people's rights, and increases the risks of avoidable war.

These are the various considerations that would count for or against any particular military pact for the current United States and for or against a general policy of disallowing all such pacts. Although it is likely that most pacts to which the United States is currently a party should be dissolved, this may not be true of each and every pact. Nor is it clear that a blanket disavowal of military pacts would be better than a policy of rational selection of (limited-purpose) pacts.

Almost everything that need be said with regard to the third isolationist demand—that U.S. military activity should be confined to the vicinity of U.S. territory—has been said in discussing the advisability of military cooperation with other states. There are all sorts of strong reasons against far-flung military operations, at least in the absence of clear evidence of the necessity of such operations for blocking genuine threats to the rights enjoyed within U.S. territory. But it is hardly self-sufficient that *no* activities far from this territory would be warranted. We need only recall the plausibility of the case for something like a Polaris submarine-missile system (with or even without extra-territorial bases).

Two other points should be made in connection with this third and most bold isolationist demand. First, the act of war that is threatened by any U.S. nuclear deterrent defense would occur far from U.S. territory. Second, in conventional warfare, there are very strong libertarian reasons for launching military missions deep within the aggressor's territory rather than at the point of his attack. For the morally unexceptionable defense is the one that strikes at the individuals responsible for the aggression—the generals and premiers cozily distant from the front—not at the innocent conscripts whom they have forced to cross our five-hundred-mile defensive limit (or whatever). Perhaps these points show that the third demand should be understood as only requiring that *the original base* for U.S. military operations be in the vicinity of U.S. territory. Scaled down in this way our judgment on the third demand will be closely tied to our judgment about the second demand.

BUYING ISOLATIONISM

Isolationism no more follows from libertarian ideals as a matter of principle than does interventionism. There is no quick or high road to isolationist conclusions. As libertarians we should be highly skeptical of calls for military preparation, organization, or action. For, as Spencer noted, "Only with the diminution of warlike activities and the conceptions appropriate to them, can men's minds become more receptive to the conceptions appropriate to the industrial [i.e., nonpolitical, contractual] state of which a cardinal one is the restriction of state-action."

Still, isolationist demands must be evaluated in the light of an adequate principle of permissible defense and a full appreciation and portrayal of all the factors present in today's world that would affect the need for and the quality and likely outcome of military and putatively defensive enterprises by the U.S. government. Only on the basis of well-formulated arguments embodying all these elements can isolationist demands, in whole or in part, be rationally accepted or rationally rejected. ◻

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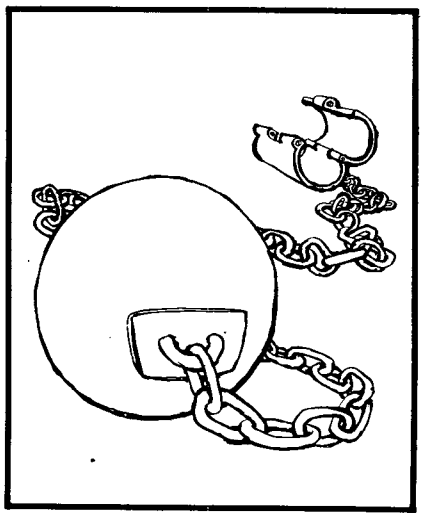

A campaign to reinstitute involuntary servitude has been launched by Congressional "moderates" and "conservatives."

by Ted Galen Carpenter

With the creation of the all-volunteer army during the early 1970's most opponents of the military draft breathed a sigh of relief, believing they had won a major triumph. The once potent anti-draft movement lapsed into somnolence. Those anti-conscription elements who remained active concentrated mostly on peripheral issues, such as obtaining a blanket amnesty for all Vietnam War era draft evaders. When President Carter issued his pardon last January, the victory over conscription seemed final and total.

Recent events demonstrate that this sense of relief was both premature and excessive. Although expiration of the Selective Service Act did represent a significant victory for individual liberty, the threat of military conscription remains very much alive. Congress retains the power to re-establish the draft machinery and begin coercing America's youth into "defending their country" anytime it chooses to exercise that option. The reality of this danger became evident early this year, when several prominent congressional figures advocated resumption of the draft.

TRIAL BALLOONS

As soon as the new Congress convened, Senators Strom Thurmond and John Stennis leveled verbal barrages at the volunteer military. Both aged conservatives criticized the voluntary approach as "too expensive" and voiced fears about possible unionization campaigns in the ranks. Although their comments were disturbing, one might conclude that enthusiasm for a renewed draft is confined to authoritarian ultra-conservatives. But other incidents make it clear that broader support exists for restoring military conscription. More ominous than the remarks of Thurmond and Stennis were Senator Howard Baker's subsequent pronouncements. Baker, the new Senate GOP leader, easily surpassed both of his Senate colleagues in expressing a commitment to involuntary servitude. He advocated not merely a resumption of military conscription but also the creation of a "universal service" training program for all 18 and 19-year-olds.

A scholarly report submitted to the Senate Armed Services Committee with much fanfare in March echoed Baker's suggestion. Prepared by Dr. William R. King, professor of business administration at the University of Pittsburgh, this document was a calculated assault on the entire volunteer military concept. Among other things, the King report labeled the volunteer army a "sinking ship" full of "misfits" which was increasingly costly to maintain. The good professor concluded that, at the very least, a standby or backup draft should be instituted at once. In his view, however, the creation of a "major new program of national service" would provide an even more effective solution. Not only would it automatically re-establish a comprehensive registration system for use in executing an emergency military draft, but in the meantime it would create "a mechanism for performing public service work such as civil defense preparation, public facilities construction and nursing care."

These national service proposals merely reiterate and update the plan that former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara advanced unsuccessfully during the mid-1960's. The universal service scheme surpasses even the military draft in posing a dire threat to individual liberty. As the King report suggests, it would convert every American youth into a slave of the State for whatever noble and glorious goals the Federal government decided to implement. One can scarcely envision a more sinister and effective device to inculcate in all citizens the belief that the individual rightfully is the servant of the State.

PRETEXTS

Most of the reasons pro-conscription spokesmen cite for re-establishing the draft appear to represent little more than convenient pretexts. It does not require a military science expert to demonstrate that minimally-trained draftees would be of little use should war erupt between the United States and another major power. Following a "push button" thermonuclear exchange, conscript mass armies would be no more effective or relevant than units of horse cavalry. Of course, if America's governmental elite intends that future wars will be "limited" conflicts similar to those conducted in Korea and Vietnam, conscripts may indeed serve a useful purpose—as cannon fodder. The Pentagon undoubtedly would encounter difficulty enticing enough volunteers willing to sacrifice themselves in yet another glorious interventionist crusade. Georgia Senator Sam Nunn, another prominent critic of the volunteer army, concedes as much when he argues that the United States "cannot

fight a war, even a small one, without going back to the draft." It seems likely that those advocating a renewed faith in conscription include a fair number of unrepentant cold warriors who realize that the draft is an indispensable prerequisite for future global war-mongering.

The "excessive cost" argument so popular with pro-draft conservatives such as Stennis and Thurmond is equally suspect. An army composed of well-paid volunteers undoubtedly is more expensive than a force of conscripts. Nevertheless, that additional cost represents a minute portion of the bloated defense budget. Closing non-essential and obsolete military bases, abolishing that absurd anachronism known as the National Guard, and pruning the size of the regular military establishment would achieve far greater financial savings. Moreover, if cost considerations can justify the forced recruitment of needed personnel, why should the military be singled out for special treatment? Applying the logic which conscription advocates employ, there is no reason why the government should not draft people and pay them substandard wages to serve as police officers, fire fighters or, for that matter, members of Congress. In a free society it becomes necessary to pay whatever compensation is required to attract a sufficient number of individuals willing to perform essential services. Since conservatives insist they favor a free society, it is a trifle mystifying why they wish to circumvent that necessity in the case of national defense.

A strong suspicion lingers that those advocating a new draft system are motivated by considerations transcending cost savings or increased military strength. To them, conscription appears to possess an overriding symbolic significance. It constitutes a device which reminds young citizens that they owe the State certain duties and obligations. Senator Nunn is one draft advocate who exhibits no shyness about emphasizing that point. Nunn expresses concern that the volunteer military will hasten the day when the army is composed solely of the less affluent. What will be the consequences to the nation, he asks, when the sons of the wealthy do not serve "and feel no obligation to serve" their country? Nunn's comments suggest that pro-draft elements would favor conscription as a symbol of State supremacy, even if it offered not the slightest prospect of other tangible benefits.

Although there seems little danger of an immediate revival of the selective service law, the trial balloons being sent aloft by so many prominent congressional figures remain profoundly disturbing. Equally alarming are signs that Pentagon officials seek to lay the foundation for rebuilding the draft. As yet their actions are cautious, but the intent is unmistakable. In early February, Army Chief of Staff General Bernard Rogers informed the Senate Armed Services Committee that the draft may have to be revived in order to overcome manpower shortages in the Army Reserves. Since it is questionable whether the Reserves serve any legitimate function in the first place, Rogers' comments seem to presage an effort to revive a "limited" draft in the hope of establishing a more extensive conscription apparatus later on. If General Rogers and the remainder of the military brass can persuade Congress to adopt their views, the chances are excellent that the United States will proceed rapidly along the road toward a new, full-blown draft system. We may awake one fine morning a few years hence to discover that conscription again constitutes an integral part of American life.

Conscripts may indeed serve a useful purpose in "limited" conflicts like Korea and Vietnam—as cannon fodder.

FIGHTING BACK

Thus far, anti-draft forces have been slow in reacting to the new conscription offensive. Members of Congress who advocated abolishing the draft during the late 1960's and early 1970's exhibit few signs of rushing to defend the volunteer army they helped establish. Public opponents of conscription have shown only slightly greater spirit. One heartening sign is the creation of a new anti-draft organization, *E*liminate the *N*ew *D*raft. (END). However, except for that development, there is scant evidence that most draft critics are stirring from their long hibernation.

A new campaign against conscription must begin *now* while the danger is still in an embryonic stage.

A new campaign against conscription must begin *now* while the danger is still in an embryonic stage. Furthermore, it would be short-sighted merely to oppose enactment of a new selective service law. Even if aroused opposition thwarted the current pro-draft offensive, the conscription battle might have to be conducted again and again throughout the foreseeable future. As long as Congress retains the authority to enact a law conscripting any segment of the American population for any reason whatsoever, an intolerable threat to individual liberty exists. The only effective method of removing this threat is to obtain a constitutional amendment prohibiting conscription.

An intelligent observer might be excused for believing that the Constitution already forbids conscription. After all, the 13th Amendment states emphatically:

> "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Since serving in the military against one's will appears to be both servitude and involuntary, and since a draftee's only apparent crime is residing in a nation that conscripts its citizens, the draft would seem to rest on rather shaky constitutional footing. But alas, the Supreme Court has not endorsed that view.

The Court first ruled on the constitutionality of military conscription in *Arver v. United States* (The Selective Draft Law Cases) 245 U.S. 366 (1918). The Arver case was decided at the height of the war hysteria fomented by Woodrow Wilson's propaganda apparatus, and the decision reflected the times. The Court ruled unanimously that the power of Congress to classify and conscript manpower for military service was beyond question. Chief Justice Edward D. White, speaking for the Court, asserted further that "the very conception of a just government and its duty to the citizen includes the reciprocal obligation of the citizen to render military service in case of need and the right to compel it." When pacifists challenged aspects of a new selective service law during World War II, the Supreme Court in *Falbo v. United States* 320 U.S. 549 (1943) and *Billings v. Truesdell* 321 U.S. 542 (1944) reaffirmed the authority of Congress to conscript military forces.

In light of these rulings, it is evident that Congress possesses ample power to enact a military draft law whenever it chooses. Whether it also has the authority to pass a "universal service" act for primarily non-military purposes is

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BIG BUSINESS COMES OUT OF ITS CORNER.....Fighting?

by Thomas Winslow Hazlett

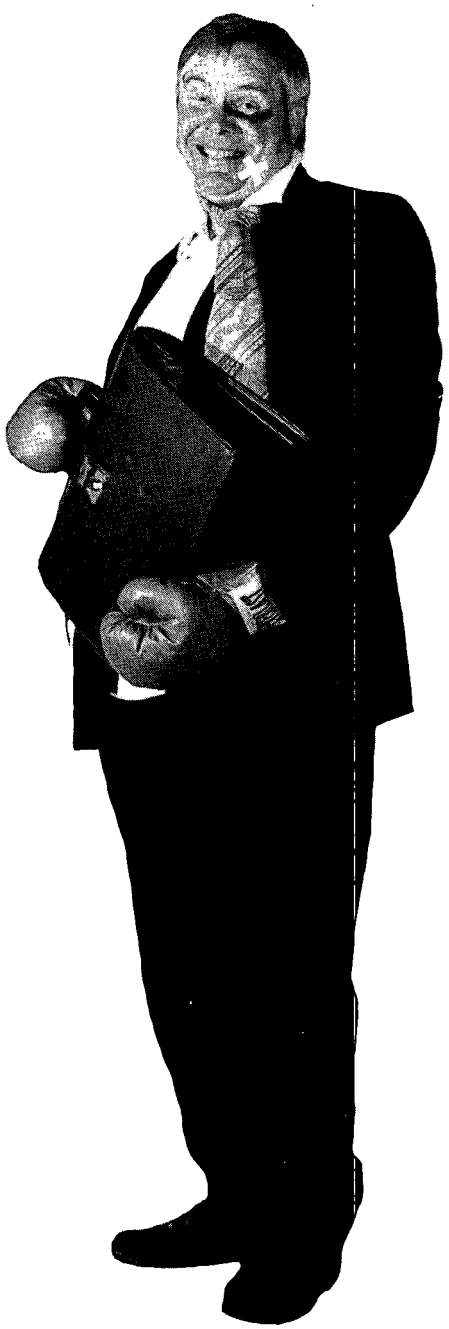

photo by Jeffrey Hettler

The American populace believes more and more that perhaps Chicken Little was onto something. The busing controversy flares; corruption and cheating plague the land; a capitol sex scandal reveals that Congressmen abuse power for fun as well as profit; and our international hopes, in Italy and elsewhere, begin to rest on the cooperation of "moderate" Communists. Yet I suggest that today's most crucial joust, in terms of the ability of the Republic to linger on, is the epic struggle of American Business versus American Government. Allow a war correspondent to sound out some late developments.

The latter party to this slug-fest has bolstered its forces rather impressively in recent years with a battery of new Federal agencies. FEA, OSHA, EPA, EEOC, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission have come on strong to reinforce the efforts of such stalwarts as the ICC, CAB, FCC, FDA, SEC, and FTC. Yet the most recent news from the front involves the belated retaliation of business. No longer are the federales shooting it out with unarmed women and children—the businessmen are firing back! Indeed, with full-page ads in the *Wall Street Journal* ($27,972) and *Newsweek* ($22,650) television commercials ($59,000 a prime time half-minute), and notes to stockholders, the business community has taken to a counter- offensive of considerable proportion. But when the guns are quiet and the dust has stilled, who will be the victor? Perhaps a reasonable projection can be gleaned from a survey of the relative abilities of the respective warriors.

One would think that in any battle of the wits the government—being huge, monolithic, noncompetitive, bureaucratic, and dull—will lose out to the productive paradigms of profit-seeking efficiency found in the world of private enterprise. Yet such conventional wisdom is questionable. There are certain impressive feats of skill that governments can and do perform regularly. Government is both prompt and ingenious at securing phenomenal pay raises for its employees, for instance. And, being astute exploiters of human psychology, the State is a master of negotiation between vested interests, also known as the art of dealmaking. The politicos display a ripe sense of mathematical sleight of hand in their practice of pension-fund arithmetic—the trick of transferring huge amounts of future income from taxpayers to government job-holders while the former think the latter are selflessly enmeshed in altruistic public service. And, according to certain rumors, the government officials are even quite prolific in the intricate and challenging practice of amour.

Before leaving the list of efficacious government enterprises, one should not miss the most obvious and proud State ability, namely, the exercise of killing large numbers of people in short periods of time within basically stationary geographical boundaries. Commonly known as the art of war, government thrives in this theatre of operation in accord with sound economic principle, for there exists a fair amount of lively competition. When beefs between rulers reach the point of humiliation, respective governments openly compete for the largest casualty totals and, as in so many of the aforementioned categories, far outstrip the piker efforts of private capitalists.

So government must be accorded a fighting chance with private enterprise—or even better. For in this rare contest, a draw is as good as a win for the inter-

ests of State. A draw represents a no-man's land where business, unsure of its rights or opportunities, can make no plans, no investments. In not knowing the outcome, business must, in short, take its football, go home, and wait for a place to play.

A recent poll found that 68 percent of U.S. executives are worried about the capacity of the corporate structure politically to survive another 25 years. Thus alarmed, they are standing up for their interests. It is a sight both awesome and chagrining. The business community, which handles billion-dollar mergers, computer technology, commodity futures, double-entry bookkeeping, union negotiations, Alaskan pipelines, congressional payoffs, and the New York Stock Exchange—all in professional, even elegant, style—is stark naked in the cold, chilling arena of intellectual warfare. Pinned to their corporate offices, desks, and telephones for the bulk of their working lives, the executives that call the corporate shots feel (and, in fact, are) touchingly isolated from their adversaries in the ivory towers. For it is not the government per se that has led the anti-business march of the past several decades; the front-line soldiers have been volunteers from the ranks of or have bought their ammunition from the intellectual elite. Estranged from the man of ideas, the business leadership adopted the snail philosophy on philosophy and sank into its shell.

Well the captains of industry, who eschewed the "intellectualoids," have found that ideas—philosophical ideas—are far from irrelevant for American business. Indeed, it is only within a social climate favoring certain ideas that anything approaching free enterprise can be seen to exist. But in their long time-out from this intellectual debate, the businessmen have, let's say, gotten rusty. And worse: they have become flabby capitalists, soft to the crux of the challenge. At heart they have accepted the vital thrust of their opponents' harangue.

MOBIL-IZING

A striking example of the depth of the corporate dilemma is to be found, not in the *New Republic* or in *Ramparts*, but in the ads of the fighting businessmen themselves. An unquestioned leader in this war to make the nation safe for capitalism has been the prestigious Mobil Oil Corporation. Multinational petroleum producer and PBS patron of the arts, Mobil has launched a self-acknowledged free-enterprise campaign. (As one of their opening acts, the Mobil people sought to push free enterprise by lobbying against decontrol of oil prices.... Mobil receives valuable subsidies under the present FEA entitlements program.) The most visible salvo in this offensive has been the regular publication of straightforward articles about the economy and the current state of affairs in paid newspaper advertisements around the country. I recently caught two such article-advertisements in the space of a week (one in the *Los Angeles Times*, one in the *Wall St. Journal*). I was petrified.

The first ad, "FDR, JFK, GNP, and Social Progress," was graced by a lordly setting. It began, not "Once upon a time," but:

> It was cold in Washington that March day in 1933. And the man stood there in the chill and he raised his hand and took the oath. And he held his head high, and he said to a nation gnawed by fear and no longer sure of itself:
>
> "...the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance."

And then Franklin Roosevelt addressed himself to the job of helping to convert retreat into advance.

Business can rejuvenate by getting off its knees and walking upright for a change.

My eyes nearly in tears, my heart filled with emotion, my thoughts effervescent with gratitude for this giant who cared so deeply for the common folk, I read on relentlessly to find out how, exactly, this prince saved his paupers from the wallows of unemployment and depression.

> While priming the pump with deficit spending, Mr. Roosevelt sought also to stimulate the private sector as the best way to create lasting jobs and to provide income to people. That would, of course, also provide the wherewithal for some long-overdue social programs the nation was about to undertake.

Right on, Mobil Oil! That's telling those no-good Keynesian, left-wing, bureaucratic dupes! Sock it to 'em some more—harder, harder:

> the United States still has much to do in reducing infant mortality, in providing better for its old people, in improving and expanding health-delivery services to the point where we can manage a program of national health insurance.

Zowie! You're standing up for free enterprise, and more power to you! For a final, complete, and unequival blow, Mobil polishes off the meddling politicians with the stirring summation:

> Many more people than realize it have an ownership stake in the health of the U.S. private sector. They should keep in mind, as President Roosevelt and President Kennedy did, that only a private sector that does well can hope to do good.

Now if that doesn't make them think twice about government intervening in the economy, I don't what will. After all, this capitalist giant has informed the public that the policies of FDR and JFK (the only politicos discussed) are just what the private sector of this country needs for its vim and vigor. And, moreover, that what the country itself needs is the WPA, CCC, NRA (until it was declared unconstitutional), AAA (that is, paying farmers tax monies not to grow crops), Social Security (4 trillion dollars in debt), massive deficit spending (the interest on which now clips us for about $40 billion annually), and socialized medicine. Bourgeois heresies, the left will say.

PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM

How fitting it was for Mobil to encore the very next week with an ad labeled: "Government—the Big Growth Industry." Here the target is the mushrooming of the nefarious State, a monster of immense proportion.

> This Bicentennial year is an appropriate time to recall that 186 of our country's first 200 years elapsed before the budget of the federal government reached $100 billion, in 1962. Thereafter only nine years elapsed before the federal budget reached $200 billion, in 1971, and only four additional years before it climbed to $300 billion. Now the only question seems to be how greatly it will exceed $400 billion in fiscal 1977....Taxes of one sort or another...are the biggest single item in the family budget.

No kidding? You really might be onto something there. Yet I seem to recall something else in that Bicentennial year, namely, Mobil Oil Corporation whooping it up for Mssrs. Roosevelt and Kennedy just a week before. That's strange because in 1932 the Federal government had 621,000 employees and spent $4 billion annually. By 1946 there were 2,729,000 civilian employees, and the budget was elevated to $65 billion annually. In the 1961-64 epoch government spending increased 21 percent. Did Mobil-ites FDR and JFK have nothing to do with either phenomenon? Perhaps; perhaps they were too busy stimulating

their private sectors.

In the next passage, however, we gain our most telling clue, for in it we gain access to the innermost reaches of the corporate cerebrum. Listen carefully.

> Private business serves the mass market, of course, trying to give the people as a whole what they want or need. *Oddly enough*, at the present juncture of history this puts business in the role of the great democratizer, in contrast to elitists who tend to want to decide unilaterally what is good for the people.

Oddly enough? You mean it's strange and extraordinary that a private-enterprise system should reflect the wishes and desires of the people? What do you think capitalism is all about, Mr. Businessman? Is it just a quirk of history that makes free enterprise the "great democratizer"?

Mobil Oil says, Yes! They not only concede, they pay thousands to spread the gospel that, "oddly enough," capitalism is antielitist. In reality, then, they believe their intellectual antagonists and think of themselves as privileged in the grotesque, feudal sense of that word. They accept free enterprise as biased toward the rich and powerful. They perceive Mr. Marx as essentially correct and identify themselves as a class of exploiters pressed to throw off—or, better yet, buy off—the proletariat.

The only salvation for the capitalist leeches—their raison d'etre—is the expedient, efficient nature of the exploitation system in responding to the needs of the masses. In spite of the foul, antisocial, and reactionary nature of private enterprise, this economic neatness, Mobil hopes, will sell us on the existence of the monster. Economic argument could not halt the Crusades. Mobil obviously believes that the masses have since become educated and erudite.

In concluding their magnum opus on the growth of government (they omitted their previous call for national health insurance which, according to the Rand Corporation's latest studies, will cost between $30 and $120 billion yearly) the Mobil copywriters summed up their plea fof fiscal austerity:

> In our view, the proper and most productive role of government lies in the sphere of the political, in the best sense of that word—not reaching for more power, but in balancing off various national needs, formulating policies, setting objectives, establishing appropriate incentives to the private sector to achieve those objectives, monitoring progress toward objectives, and, perhaps most important, providing leadership.

Today's quiz, ladies and gentlemen, is to name one living Washington officionado who, given the above laundry list of government duties and powers (including the ubiquitous "providing leadership" phrase) would *not* be able to double to size of the Federal establishment inside of 24 months. (If you come up with the answer—*any* answer—you win!)

THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

It is a sad saga, businessmen fighting the battle of ideas. And it is most embarrassing if you're one of those rooting, by and large, for the businesspersons. So the prospects of the Business versus Government debacle look quite grim for the Horatio Alger fans in the crowd. The private sector becomes more and more private, while the society at large grows more and more public.

The surrender has not, however, been signed, sealed, and delivered. My natural inclination toward cynicism and despair to the contrary, Business can rejuvenate by getting off its knees and walking upright for a change. If, as we always say, the business community could learn to bury its dead and to face up to the demands of the intellectual challenge, the battle would assume new, more favorable, proportions. Business still owns the media, the universities, and the foundations of this country, and they have the receipts to prove it. It is time they took possession. Not by throwing out the rascals of the opposition, but by hurling forth the heroes in agreement. The freethinkers of the age, more than anxious for a chance at lighting a spark, would respond instantly and brilliantly to a corporate invitation to take the reins in the battle of ideas. In this great debate of our modern age, businessmen have proven that they are in no shape to walk alone. They must seek to promote the idea-creators and idea-pushers who have an intellectual stake in the essence of private enterprise—those thinkers who understand, for example, that it is no accident that capitalism is today, as in ages past, the "great democratizer." Only in the clear, crisp, clever, nay exquisite, enunciation of free enterprise may proponents of liberty brake the stampede and diffuse its power.

The war, meanwhile, rages on. This partisan analyst quivers. Will corporate capitalism grasp its proper ammunition? Or will it continue to shoot blanks and toss boomerangs? Western Civilization is more than casually interested in the answer. ◻

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Conscription

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less clear, but little evidence suggests that the judiciary would invalidate such a measure. Since the late 1930's, the Supreme Court has demonstrated an obvious reluctance to strike down acts of Congress. While a future Court may adopt a more literal interpretation of the 13th Amendment and reverse its previous stance on the draft, it would be foolhardy indeed to rely upon that unlikely event to protect the liberties of several million Americans. A constitutional amendment remains the only secure method of permanently burying the conscription threat.

Campaigning for an anti-draft amendment presents both obstacles and unique opportunites for libertarians. It may be difficult to arouse people when the possibility of a revived selective service system still seems relatively remote. Many individuals who dislike conscription become involved only when the draft is already in high gear, usually during wartime. That is precisely the least auspicious occasion to launch an anti-draft movement, because it then becomes necessary to contend with accusations of disloyalty, cowardice, and similar smears. Such difficulties can be minimized if anti-conscription forces conduct their lobbying efforts during a period such as the present one when the United States remains at peace. Indeed, pro-conscription elements might find themselves thrown upon the defensive since they must advocate retaining a legislative power for some purely theoretical future need.

THE MORAL CASE

Libertarians are particularly well-suited for assuming the leadership of a new anti-draft movement. Previous campaigns against conscription have all exhibited a disturbing tendency to focus upon peripheral matters or to advocate "qualified" opposition to the draft apparatus. During the 1960's, many New Left elements opposed the selective service system because it provided manpower for prosecution of an "unjust" and "immoral" war. While such an objection contained considerable validity, it conveyed the distinct implication that conscription for a "just war" (whatever that might be) is legitimate. In a similar fashion, conservatives who opposed the draft invariably refused to advocate applying that prohibition during genuine national emergencies or constitutionally

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The MYTH of the MYTH OF MENTAL ILLNESS

Those ingenuous arguments against involuntary hospitilization are flawed.

by John B. Kizer

By now most of us know who Thomas Szasz is. His various books, articles, and scholarly papers have dealt with a wide range of topics. Most significant to those concerned with liberty have been Szasz's arguments against involuntary mental hospitalization.

What are these arguments? How do they relate to the general case for the value of political liberty?

Szasz has founded his arguments against involuntary mental hospitalization on the idea that mental illness is unlike physical illness and is, in fact, not a "disease" at all as that term is traditionally understood. Because of the controversial and, as I shall indicate, highly vulnerable character of Szasz's position—namely, that mental illness is a myth—we might want to learn whether we can separate his psychiatric from his libertarian arguments. In that case if, as I suspect, the former are untenable, their weakness will not necessarily reflect upon the soundness of Szasz's libertarian arguments.

Let us briefly look at Thomas Szasz's case. This will only be an outline, but the crucial features of the argument will emerge clearly enough.

NORMAL JUDGMENTS

Szasz opposes the application of the medical model to psychiatry mainly because he sees the logic of the diagnosis of conventional organic disease as being different from the logic of the diagnosis of mental illness. The diagnosis of conventional illness, he notes, is scientific and objective, whereas the diagnosis of mental illness by psychiatrists requires a value judgment on their part, which makes it fundamentally different from conventional medical diagnosis. That is, Szasz argues that the psychiatrist *decides* that a person is "mentally ill" (as opposed to merely being different, confused, or unhappy), whereas the physician makes no such value judgment or discretionary judgment when an organic disorder is involved.

This argument is not ingenuous if one accepts the traditional concepts of the medical model and organic disease—that there is an objective standard for determining what is organically normal. As Roger J. Williams, discoverer of pantothenic acid and founder of the genetotrophic concept, has shown in his *Biochemical Individuality*, however, the idea of "normality" is not at all easy to define even when dealing with organic disorders. That is, the medical model, carefully applied, does not allow for complete generality or universality—which is what Szasz means by "objectivity." Thus the judgment that is involved in determining whether an individual is diseased or merely different, the judgment to which Szasz objects, is not unique to psychiatric diagnosis, but permeates the field of medical diagnosis as well.

For example, Williams found that in a study of "normal" (that is, healthy) men in his laboratory, there are great variations among them on just about every physiological measure. By a great variation Williams means, not just 20 percent to 30 percent, which would be clinically significant, but 100 percent to 1,500 percent or more. Thus, according to Williams, even in purely organic or medical illness the physician quite often must make a value judgment as to whether a statistically aberrant physiological measurement is indicative of disease or is merely an expression of biochemical individuality.

So whenever he measures, say, the serum amylase content, the physician must assess whether a numerical value outside of the normal range indicates an "illness" on the part of the patient. This assessment is quite analogous to the judgment that a psychiatarist must make when his patient behaves in a statistically abnormal fashion. In both cases the physician must decide whether these statistical variations are just expressions of biochemical individuality, in the case of Williams, or of psychological individuality, in Szasz's case. There is no fundamental difference in logic or methodology.

MENTAL OR PHYSICAL?

There are, of course, medical diagnoses that are much more clear-cut than the one just described. If by X-rays or inspection the physician can see that the patient has a broken arm or a ruptured blood vessel, there is little judgment involved in the diagnosis. It is the consideration of instances of this type that has led people to accept the notion that the medical model involves neutral and dispassionate analysis based on measurable standards of a nomothetic as

opposed to an idiographic nature.

Szasz points out that there also exist cases, traditionally diagnosed as mental illnesses, in which a clear-cut physiological description is evident. He contends, however, that if they can therefore be diagnosed with only a nominal value judgment they are no longer mental illnesses but, rather, physical illnesses. This seems to me to be a curious way of defining away all cases that might be problematical to his point of view. Mental illnesses of this type include general paresis and anatomical disorders of the brain in which lesions of the central nervous system can be observed. These are analogous to their nonbehavioral disease counterparts of broken bones and ruptured blood vessels in that their diagnosis involves no significant discretionary judgment.

Szasz's argument is not ingenuous if one accepts the traditional concepts of the medical model and organic disease.

It is to Szasz's great credit, however, that he is remarkably shrewd in his clinical guesses. For example, he suggested in *The Myth of Mental Illness* in 1960 that schizophrenia is probably a physical illness. It was later found that schizophrenic behavior correlated with the serotonin content of the blood, thereby removing it from the ranks of mental illness, according to Szasz.

Szasz has also correctly pointed out that some people are labeled mentally ill (merely) for holding opinions opposed to those held by the labelers. A passage from Harry Overstreet's *The Great Enterprise* is a good example: "Sometimes, it appears, such persons have constellations of prejudice areas. A man, for example, may be angrily against race equality, public housing, the TVA, financial and technical aid to backward countries, organized labor, and the preaching of social rather than salvational religion. Try as we may, we can scarcely open up a subject that does not tap their permeative, automatic 'againstness.' Such people may appear 'normal' in the sense that they are able to hold a job and otherwise maintain their status as members of society, but they are, we now recognize, well along the road toward mental illness."

Healthy individuals vary on almost every physiological measure by 100 percent to 1,500 percent and more.

For this reason, coercive involuntary mental hospitalization is something that must be avoided for the mentally ill except perhaps, on such emergency occasions as when the individual is *incapable* of caring for himself, that is, apparently unable to carry out conduct necessary for living. For example, an individual in a catatonic stupor with no one to care for him might benefit from mental hospitalization, even if involuntary.

PSYCHIATRIC ETHICS

Szasz argues about this point, not accepting any such emergency cases. He claims that medical ethics prohibits any involuntary psychiatry. In medicine, treatment is permitted because the individual wants it. Szasz argues that involuntary psychiatry is impermissible because the patient does not indicate that he wants treatment. Medical ethics, however, offers many instances of "involuntary" treatment. Unconscious accident victims, without their assent, are "involuntarily" imprisoned in an ambulance and rushed to a hospital. Individuals having their first epileptic seizure have cloths stuffed into their mouths involuntarily and are otherwise treated. People suffering from apparent drug overdoses are involuntarily rushed to have their stomachs pumped.

The question remains, "Does medical ethics in the above cases violate their freedoms by doing something the treated individuals did not desire?" The only way of determining the answer is to ask the people after treatment if they wanted it, as they were incapable of requesting treatment prior to its administration. In nearly every case they say they wanted it. Those who do not still have the opportunity to do away with themselves in another way on another day.

Similarly with mental illness, an autistic, a catatonic, or a severely schizophrenic individual who is obviously unable to care for himself might benefit from treatment and really desire it but just be unable to ask for it or assent to it at the moment. The only way we can know if he really wanted it is to ask him afterward. Again in cases of mental illness, as with physical illness, nearly all individuals who have been *involuntarily treated* and helped by it say afterward that they really wanted treatment. This is as true of the paranoiac as it is of the epileptic or the accident victim.

Just as there is a discretionary or value judgment in the logic of diagnosis for both conventional medicine and psychiatry, there is such a judgment involved for both in the determination of when to treat involuntarily. Both conventional physicians and psychiatrists prefer a voluntary relationship but recognize the need to treat involuntarily if they see that the patient is going to die or do himself great harm, as in the physical case of the epileptic and the mental case of the catatonic. Involuntary psychiatry, then, is not in conflict with medical ethics but simply involves the same discretion that medical ethics requires.

The answer to Szasz's question, "If diabetes is not treated involuntarily, why should depression be?" is that physical illness *is* quite often treated involuntarily if the individual appears to be incapable of asking for help. Mental illness should be treated involuntarily on the same basis—which is not to condone the numerous documented abuses of the incapacity criterion.

Contrary to Szasz, medical ethics offers many instances of involuntary treatment.

While one may respect Dr. Szasz's clinical shrewdness as well as his arguments opposing involuntary hospitalization for reasons of social convenience, it is essential to realize that it is not necessary to deny the existence of mental illness to stave off such coercion. Applying the same criterion as with physical illness is enough to ensure that involuntary treatment only occurs in comparably extraordinary cases.

Dr. Szasz fuses the two logically separate problems of the existence of mental illness and what we may do about it because he assumes the overly simplified medical model that has been shown to be inadequate. Indeed, under the medical model of diagnosis, as explained by Williams, the basis of Szasz's argument vanishes, as there exists no difference between the logic of psychiatric diagnosis and the logic of medical diagnosis. ◻

John B. Kizer has four years' experience as a consulting psychologist and has taught at Shawnee State College. He has twice won prizes for essays on the theory of gravitation and has developed a theory of cellular regulation, published in a letter to *New Scientist*.

Reflections on Bad Times

viewpoint

Tibor R. Machan

With years of emphasis on the study of human beings as if people were no different in essentials from rocks or rats, it is no wonder that intellectuals fail to perceive some of the facts of life in human affairs. How could they? Understanding, and even some perception—its focus, at least—is guided by basic concepts, and when these are screwed up, most of the value of a field of study tends to lie in its lucky disregard of announced methodology.

Nonetheless, the empiricist biases in contemporary social studies are not all harmful. We face the world, first of all, with our senses, after which we have to put our minds into gear lest we miss what else is there. And this first material is indispensible, which is what so many folks used to forget in their speculations, especially in philosophy and (God help us) theology.

Now this important point is not all there is, but once in a while one can appreciate why sense awareness just won't work on its own. In the last 50-odd years those willing to look and think surely have had ample evidence of the failures of, for example, collectivism, especially statism, a species of it. (Communes are collectivist but not statist!) You look anywhere in the globe and, even if you are in second gear, you can make out clearly that freedom is better than slavery. And if more folks went into third and fourth gear they could detect how even the slightest compromise on liberty just leads to so much less of the good things in life! Yes, even *the best* requires the maximum liberty, however many *possibilities* of abuse this makes.

Take a recent instance. Swine flu was Uncle Sam's great pacifier yesterday. Whatever else they did badly, our bureaucratic leaders *must* have meant well with the swine flu inoculation. Only the beastly would mess this up! I know nothing of the problem except that when some old folks died shortly after getting the shot the government did not hesitate to broadcast its assurances that no evidence was available to show that any connection exists between the shots and the deaths.

Two things can be seen here, but not simply by being exposed to the signs. Some thought has to help in this kind of *seeing*. First, the government applied to itself different standards of medical propriety from what it does to many drug companies and doctors. The government folks realized that when an activity helps some people and no evidence of hurting the innocent is available after some reasonable tests, then go ahead, do it. The Federal Food and Drug Administration, our drug father, demands of drug companies that they prove that no harm *is possible*, not that help is provided without evidence of harm. The FDA often demands proof of a negative, i.e., the nonexistence of harm, even of the danger of harm. Something possibly possible to be hazardous—yes, the doubled possibility is there on purpose—is prohibited.

So far bad enough. Secondly, when Uncle Sam was challenged by some suggestion that what it did by spreading shots across the land hurt some folks, announcements of disclaimer were immediately aired as *news reports*! Our marvelous free press demonstrated its independence of government directives with honor, wouldn't you say?

How often would a drug company get "free," prime-time TV and radio coverage in case of a desire to explain what really is the situation concerning a drug banned by the FDA? Or, alternatively, where is Walter Cronkite now and why isn't he screaming bloody murder?

So evidence is all around us. This was a minor instance of the most odious of government encroachments on our lives. What with Jimmy Carter stressing leadership as the prime motive for his presidential plans, with no one mentioning liberty as a public good in the Bicentennial year, with who knows how much more increase of State power, and with less and less political concern for the power of individuals—well, with all this why are all the intellectuals still blind?

Because they are wearing blinders, self-imposed in most cases, obviously without protest in many others, and only slowly being torn off by a few. When social science cannot say what is good, when the concept of tyranny is impossible to render consistent with one's theoretical framework, then how could anyone be scientific enough to identify the evidence of the growth of slavery? Of course, with Nixon they were all willing to scream moralisms from the highest rooftops, but here too it wasn't clearly understood. Nixon had to be made into a monumental evil, the devil incarnate, so that the *role* Nixon was playing almost very faithfully (but a bit stupidly) could escape the harangue. It was Jimmy Carter, during the first debate, who referred to Nixon as "at least a good leader." That's our lesson to you. But then lessons aren't lessons to those who care naught for learning.

A note for those who do care to learn. There is something to the claim that revolutions at the bad time are mass suicide. For those who had the best goals to support. With the kind of popularity that blinders now enjoy in the intellectual circles of our land there can be no quick advance to culture-wide liberty. Some think that rushing toward disaster would be best since the shock would get people to see better. Not so, because traumas alone do not educate. A trauma is an experience that can only be well managed if there is expert training, and even there that works ill in the case of political affairs. Indeed in crises the military or militant types flourish most, and if these folks take charge you aren't likely to have the chance for teaching heresies, even to the extent you can get away with doing it now.

So moderately but persistently goes it. I have to make this clear to myself over and over again, so rest assured that I am not just preaching.

Senior editor Tibor Machan teaches philosophy at SUNY-Fredonia. His Viewpoint appears in this column every third month.

foreign correspondent

The Quebec Crisis

Toronto, Ontario. Canada is presently facing a grave crisis. The nature of this crisis is not fully understood by many people, not for lack of political acumen, but simply because the situation is one to which the liberal-left Canadian establishment prefers to turn a blind eye. Consequently, the "crisis" to which I refer has been given little, if any, exposure in the media.

Early this year elections for provincial government were held in the province of Quebec. It must be noted that the incumbent Liberal Party was rife with corruption, mismanagement and other common ailments of governments. Campaigning on the issue of clean government, the Parti Quebecois, led by Rene Levesque, was elected to office with a parliamentary majority.

The Parti Quebecois (PQ) is known primarily as the party whose main aim is to separate Quebec from Canada and create an independent state. It is this aspect of the PQ victory which has dominated media coverage of the PQ and its activities. The dissolution of Canadian confederation would indeed have some serious political ramifications, but not in the sense that has been played up in the media. Appeals to national unity, language rights, economic ties and so on have been the catch-phrases in the Quebec problem. My contention is that there is something more fundamental, more worthy of being called a crisis, something in which all of the catch-phrases are nothing more than means to an end.

What is of crucial importance, and what most people have failed to—or don't wish to—grasp is the political nature of the Parti Quebecois. Only when the aims and goals of the PQ have been understood can their intention to separate be termed a "crisis."

Aside from its separatist aspirations, the Parti Quebecois has what amounts to a Marxist constitution: its goals and aims are directed at total nationalization of Quebec with the ultimate goal being a totalitarian one-party state. Rene Levesque, Premier of Quebec, has long been associated with the Communist Party apparatus in Quebec. (It is a well known fact that the main Communist Party in Canada is strictly run by Moscow through the KGB). Rene Levesque is a close friend of Fidel Castro and interestingly enough, a training school for guerrillas destined to fight in Africa was recently unearthed in the Cuban consulate in Montreal (the spies were deported, not charged). Other individuals with questionable backgrounds include: Guy Caron, a long-time member of the Communist Party and now a member of parliament representing the Quebec riding of Westmount for the Parti Quebecois; Claude Morin, also a long-time communist and now a cabinet minister in the PQ government. This is an indication of the kind of men who have control of the government in Quebec. It is becoming more and more apparent that "separatism" *per se* is not the ultimate end of the Parti Quebecois. There is more to the story.

One of the first measures that the PQ took was the introduction of language legislation which would make French the only official language in Quebec—English would be banned from use in business, law, school, government. The legislation is having the effect of driving out English speaking Quebecers who do not wish to learn French.

It must be noted here that the PQ intends to hold a referendum in the very near future to decide whether Quebec should separate from Canada. It is essential for the PQ to hold the referendum soon, before the excitement of a new "honest" government wears off. To achieve this result, it is necessary to reduce opposition as much as possible, as quickly as possible—thus the language bill discriminating against English-speakers.

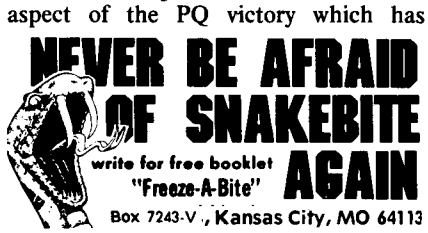
Should the PQ win the separation referendum, no time will be lost in creating a new state. The inhabitants of Quebec, however, may well be in for a rude shock. The PQ is likely to declare a totalitarian regime immediately and quickly put to rest any dissent (Canada's top army regiments are French-Canadian and based in Quebec). It is also very likely that the PQ would form immediate ties with Cuba and thus with the Soviet Union. The Soviet aim of undermining collective western security will then have been achieved.

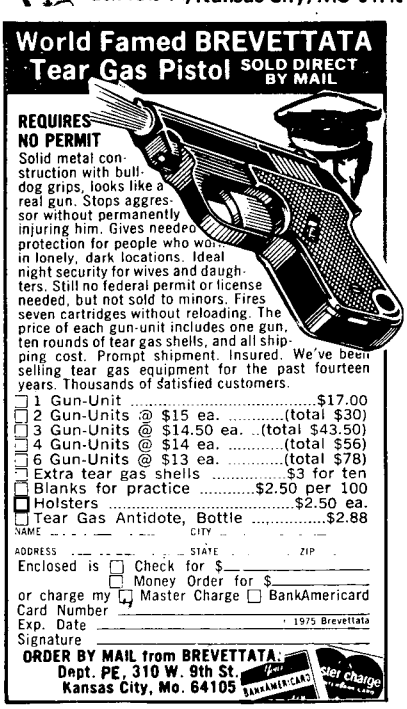
What about the Canadian federal government? It is doing very little to contain the potentially explosive Quebec situation. But this is not surprising, considering that Pierre Eliott Trudeau is Prime Minister of Canada.

The federal government is preparing to fight an election this year. I have no doubt that Pierre Trudeau will suddenly play up the Quebec problem and cast himself in the role of saviour of Canadian confederation. It is very likely that he may win that election because effective opposition to Trudeau and the Liberal Party has all but disappeared.

But is Trudeau, in fact, interested in confederation at all? It is apparent from his writings and his actions that he is an avid socialist; he is a keen admirer of Mao Tse-Tung; he visited Cuba and shouted "Viva Fidel" before a huge rally; he has done nothing about the intense proliferation of Cuban spy activity in Montreal and Toronto (the Cuban consulate in Toronto is reputed to be the coordinating headquarers of KGB activity in North America). The list of the Trudeau contradictions is endless. In fact, Trudeau shares more similar views with Rene Levesque and the PQ than opposing ones.

Trudeau has written many times that he advocates socialism, not through violent overthrow, but through insidious infiltration. It is, therefore, entirely within the realm of possibility that some

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sort of "unholy alliance" is being planned for Canada; an alliance with Trudeau and Levesque as the chief commissars.

The scenario is both ludicrous and frightening—ludicrous because of the prevalent, comfortable, "it-can't-happen-here" attitude of the Western democracies; frightening because, for those who can see, it is already happening.

Meanwhile, English-speaking Quebecers flow out of Quebec in a steady stream, the first refugees in what may become a war to determine the fate of the free world. And that is the crisis that faces Canada.

A. Michael Keerma

washington watch

Saccharin Ban — What Hope for Progress?

The Food and Drug Administration's ban on saccharin is scheduled to become effective in July. While there is some chance of delay or modification, I think we may have missed the boat on what could have been a lovely opportunity to use libertarian premises in arguing a public policy issue in unusually friendly circumstances.

It is instructive to contrast the public reaction to the saccharin ban to the reaction to the cyclamate ban a few years ago. When cyclamates were banned, markets put cyclamated soft drinks on sale for drastically cut prices, and had few takers even then. Now people are hoarding saccharin, and few people except FDA bureaucrats and some zealous consumerists have anything nice to say about the FDA ban. The days of uncritical acceptance of FDA actions are gone. People just don't trust them anymore.

Congress has gotten the message from the people, and numerous bills to modify the FDA ban have been introduced. Most take one of two tacks: either declare by law that saccharin is legal, or change the Delaney clause to introduce more cost/benefit analysis before substances are banned.

The discouraging thing is that there seems to be little support for an outright repeal of the Delaney clause, which mandates that any substance shown to have caused cancer in any animal must be banned. About 150 Congressmen have signed on as co-sponsors of some form of saccharin relief legislation, but most of it is clearly stopgap—amounting to finding some way to keep saccharin on the market and constituents off their backs—while doing nothing about the arbitrary power of the FDA which is at the root of the problem.

Maybe it isn't too late. Letters advocating repeal of the Delaney clause may still have an impact on Congressmen and Senators, and on Rep. Paul Rogers (D-FL), chairman of the House Health and Environment Subcommittee, as well as Harley Staggers, chairman of the full House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. If you still want to vent your artificially-sweetened spleen at the FDA, you can write them at 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, MD 20852.

Chances Dim for Bell Bill

Despite continued aggressive lobbying, the chances for passage of the anti-competition bill introduced by friends of AT&T are dim, at least this year. AT&T wants Congress to reverse FCC decisions which have led to some competition in specialized common carriers and "interconnect" telephone-related equipment. Only half of the Senators who agreed to co-sponsor the Bell bill last year are co-sponsors this year. In addition, the House Communications Subcommittee is doing a study of the entire Communications Act of 1934, which offers some interesting opportunities for libertarians to make points against the licensing procedures of the whole communications industry.

Postal Competition?

Little-noted in the recommendations of the Commission on Postal Service, commissioned by Congress to suggest new policies, was a recommendation that private firms be authorized to make fast letter deliveries where the Postal Service was unable to provide comparable service. The other recommendations were predictable enough (cut service to five days a week, raise the subsidy, raise rates, and "emphasize dependability rather than speed of delivery.")

The recommendation about private firms may be related to the Commission's recommendation that the Postal Service decide quickly whether or not to get into the electronic communications business. The Commission believes the Postal Service will lose about a quarter of its first class business to electronic methods in the next few years, and may have to go out of the first class mail business altogether.

Who knows, maybe the market will put the post office out of business even without legislation repealing the government monopoly.

Libertarian Activities

Libertarian Advocate testified before the Senate Aviation Subcommittee in April, urging abolition of the CAB, a position also taken by the National Taxpayers Union, Young Americans for Freedom and the American Conservative Union. Abolition is not likely, but some kind of regulatory reform seems assured.

The Libertarian Party and Libertarian Advocate are working together to fight Carter's energy fascism proposals and the public financing aspect of the administration's election reform proposals.

The National Taxpayers Union recently sponsored a Congressional staff seminar on restitution to victims to be paid for by the criminals. The attendance was not very high, but it was better than at a similar seminar held at the same time by proponents of a bill which would have the taxpayers compensate victims of crime.

A new organization, Libertarians for Life, has been formed by libertarian Doris Gordon (13424 Hathaway Dr., Wheaton, MD 20906). The group holds that abortion is murder, and hopes to influence the LP to change its platform position on abortion as well as to make libertarians more aware of libertarian arguments against abortion.

D.C. Area Libertarian Social Club heard from David Friedman in May, Dr. Murray Rothbard in April. Attendence is growing steadily, and an affiliated club has been formed the Baltimore area. For information, write Jarret Wollstein, 2509 Duxbury Rd., Alexandria, VA 22308.

Challenge to Public Schools

A challenge to the public school system may be brewing in New Hampshire, where NHLP members are supporting a family which pulled its kids out of the public schools due to objections to the curriculum and harassment of the

kids. Local government officials made an abortive attempt to have the children taken away from the parents and made wards of the State. Now the lawyers think they have a case which could go to the Supreme Court and make a fundamental challenge to compulsory attendance laws. The dissidents need support and money. For information or to contribute, you can write to Art Ketchen or Jim Pinnard, c/o NHLP, P.O. Box 48, Milford, N.H. 03055.

Alan Bock

spotlight

Media Marvel

In a lifetime, most libertarians would count themselves lucky to speak to a quarter of a million people. Yet one young admirer of Ayn Rand in Boston, Massachusetts, is reaching that number of citizens every working day.

Avi Nelson has become the city's hottest radio talk show host over the past three years, by virtue of his skill in deflating arguments for government intervention and his articulate defense of people's ability to solve problems by themselves. His attacks on busing in particular have fallen upon receptive ears: he has emerged as one of the leading anti-busing spokesmen in Boston, and dethroned rival talk show hosts from their top spots in the ratings.

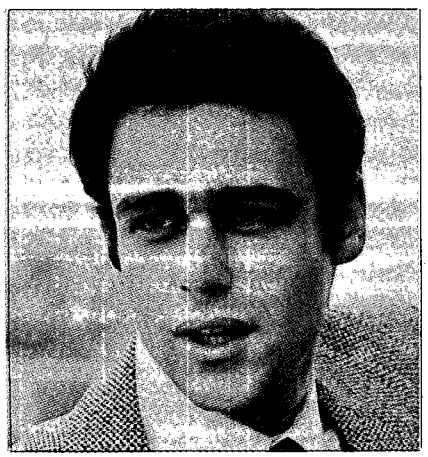
Such an impact is even more impressive in light of Nelson's background. Until four years ago, he had no experience in media whatsoever. Despite a lack of professional coaching or training, Nelson today hosts a weekly television show in addition to the radio program, and writes a twice weekly newspaper column for the *Boston Herald American* that consistently draws more reader comment than other opinion pieces.

For many years, there were few signs that Nelson would emerge as a prominent anti-busing advocate. He was born 34 years ago to parents with a conventional liberal outlook. Nelson reflected these views until after entering Yale, from which he graduated in 1963. The turning point came when a friend came to him with a copy of *Atlas Shrugged* and said, "Boy, you gotta read this bock—it's just like you."

Nelson became a libertarian, but was determined to pursue a scientific career. After graduating from Yale with a degree in electrical engineering, he entered graduate school at Cornell in a unique joint business-physics program. He moved on to a research and development job with Raytheon, leaving to enter a Harvard Ph.D. program in applied physics in the late 1960's.

Harvard at that time was intermittently paralyzed by students riots and building takeovers. As a result of the agitation, Nelson's thoughts returned to political concerns. He joined the Harvard graduate school Republican club, and sharpened his already impressive verbal skills in frequent debates with student protestors.

His new political orientation prompted a decision to leave the Ph.D. program in early 1972. Nelson was upset by the leftist views of his Congressman, Father Robert Drinan, and dismayed by the liberalism of the prospective Republican candidates. Rather than cede the race to these individuals, Nelson—a complete political novice—decided to campaign for the Republican nomination. His only base at the time was made up of libertarians and members of his father's rabbinate in Brookline.



Avi Nelson

Despite his inexperience in politics, Nelson made a spectacular showing. He overwhelmed two of the candidates in the four-man primary race (including one former Congressman) and came within 600 votes of upsetting the winner. Newspaper pundits and politicians agreed after the race that Nelson was someone to watch—closely.

Nelson's entry into the media came about as a result of the Congressional primary campaign. Impressed by his speaking ability, an executive of a 50,000-watt radio station invited Nelson to sit in for the then-leading talk show host in Boston, Jerry Williams, who was vacationing. Within hours of Nelson's debut, the audience was in an uproar over his pointed, witty demolition of liberal icons. "The faithful had tuned in to get the gospel according to St. Jerry, and here was this guy who was just giving the wrong gospel," he remembers. "The phone lines crackled. We had threats, people coming down to the station, and the guard had to be doubled."

Soon after, the station offered him a weekly talk show of his own. Nelson has since been hired away by two competing 50,000-watt stations and given a daily show. During the fracas arising over Judge Garrity's mandatory school busing order in Boston, Nelson used his show as a forum for anti-busing advocates and those who proposed setting up private schools in South Boston. As a result, Nelson has become wildly popular in South Boston—and the object of regular death threats.

So solid is Nelson's base in the city that he has received numerous requests, from citizens and some local politicians, to run for mayor. Polls show that his name recognition in the city is above 70 percent, and more than 40 percent throughout the state. At present, however, Nelson is undecided about his plans—he is resuming his Ph.D. studies at Harvard on a part-time basis, and launching a non-profit organization to generate public policy research from a libertarian perspective, and perhaps also to become a "right-wing ACLU." Nelson also wants to continue to be active in sports. He now plays semi-professional baseball in addition to his other activities.

When asked to speculate about his future, Nelson narrows his options to two general fields: politics or a career in the media. He has just begun to syndicate his radio show state-wide, and would seriously consider a network television slot should it be offered. "We are considering politics in 1978 or 1980," Nelson adds, noting that the possibilities then will include a U.S. Senate seat, and the governorship and lieutenant governorship of the state.

Whatever his decision, Nelson is likely to be heard from someday on a national basis. He has no intention of giving up the struggle against collectivist trends in society. "Fighting makes you sleep better," he says. "Second, you're doing a little bit to help solve the problem. And third, there is no alternative. Although we can choose to leave government alone, the government won't leave us alone." R

books

None Dare Call It Witchcraft

by Gary North.
New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1976.
253 pp. $8.95

Reviewed by Robert Sheaffer

Gary North is a remarkable man. A young historian with a Ph.D. from the University of California at Riverside, he is a vigorous supporter of free-market economics. Not only does he lecture widely on the subject, he is also a frequent contributor to such respected publications as the *Wall Street Journal, National Review, Human Events,* and *The Freeman.* But Dr. North has an even greater claim to distinction: he is a leading authority on Demons. Indeed, he is probably the best-known free-market demonologist active today.

None Dare Call It Witchcraft is a book about the occult, a subject that has been enjoying considerable popularity in recent years. We've all heard of the alleged phenomena: ESP, psychic surgery, UFO's, eyeless sight, and the like. North's proposed explanation is somewhat novel: demons. Why is it that some (emphazise: *some*) scientists, who are inclined toward belief in paranormal phenomena, have been reporting experimental results that, *if* valid, seem to undermine the very foundations of the rational universe? Dr. North believes he has the answer: "What is happening is quite simple: demons are beginning to affect the experiments."

Setting aside the question of whether the Demon hypothesis is the *best* possible explanation for the alleged existence of paranormal phenomena, one must first determine the validity of the evidence upon which the case for the occult rests. North's sources for his case studies of alleged incidents of "Spontaneous Human Combustion" (or SHC, when a person reportedly just bursts into flame, burning only the body but not nearby objects) are as follows: *Mysterious Fires and Lights,* a pulp paperback by an author who specializes in occult "Mysteries"; a 1951 article in *True Detective* magazine; and a 1964 article for *True* magazine, a sensationalist "adventure" sizzler. Since when does a professional historian rely upon sources such as these?

UFO skeptic Philip J. Klass investigated three of the best-known alleged incidents of SHC to be found in the paperback press. He discovered that the first reportedly occurred on a ship that never existed. The second incident was a misrepresentation of a traffic accident, in which the driver of a truck was burned to death. And the third person reportedly burned to a cinder in a 1938 Volkswagen—which never existed. Dr. North did not take the trouble to check up on the claims of any of these tabloid scholars. Demons, he concludes.

Consider the phenomenon of the "psychic surgeons of Brazil and the Philippines. They reportedly perform painless surgery, often without instruments, reaching their hands into the patient's body as if operating on a ghost. Dr. North finds this to be compelling evidence of "demonic healing." Arigo, the Surgeon of the Rusty Knife, could reportedly remove tumors using a pen knife and scissors, without pain or bleeding and without leaving any evidence of the incision. Did not the cameras of Dr. Andrija Puharich record such an operation, proving its reality beyond all doubt? But North seems unconcerned that this same Puharich owns a tape recorder that switches itself on to receive cosmic messages from a Flying Saucer, telling him what to do to prevent World War III. Dr. North blithely relies on the "evidence" presented by Puharich and other occultists (while faulting Puharich for being too timid to "depart from formally established (scientific) procedures." Libera me Domine.)

It appears that North is unaware of a 1974 book (*Healing: A Doctor in Search of a Miracle*) by Dr. William A. Nolan, an American surgeon who traveled to the Philippines, convinced that there was "something" to it and hoping to learn the secret. Nolan was acutely disappointed to find, after watching several of the best-known "psychic surgeons" in action, that they were performing sleight-of-hand with blood-stained cotton and chicken guts: "No one who had ever seen an operation would be misled for a moment." But Dr. North flies off into a rage whenever anyone accuses a "psychic" of practicing deception. He views this accusation as the last line of defense of the "one-sided and narrow" worldview of Western rationalism, refusing to consider that it might in fact be true.

The author's dislike of the scientific "establishment" appears to exceed the legendary antiestablishment sentiments of the Berkeley counterculture, which he also despises. North disposes of an extremely effective expose of a phony psychic with the observation that "the book was ecstatically praised by establishment scientists," as if this were proof of the book's unreliability. Fallen angels are not the only demons in Dr. North's cosmology.

Of what dark sin can the "establishment" scientists possibly be guilty, to incur such wrath? "Arigo's knife is cutting out the heart of science's most cherished presupposition: that the rational, categorizing mind of man can give an account, at least in principle,...of any known phenomenon." The transgression, it is clear, is the belief that human beings are competent to understand the phenomena of the visible universe without recourse to any supernatural information system. Equally odius is the concept of human autonomy: "Every man is under someone's yoke... there can be no order, no meaning, no existence apart from sovereign authority." Thus Dr. North appears to fall within that extremely small minority of free-market advocates who are opposed both to free scientific enquiry and to human liberty.

The reader will have to make his own decision about the validity of Gary North's assumption that the Bible represents divinely inspired truth. But all will agree that the very *worst* way to win converts to your religious views is to display the most gross credulity in secular matters. Of this he is plainly guilty: a professional historian has written a book on the occult without having done one iota of original research on the subject and has unquestioningly accepted as fact the claims to be found in mass-market occult paperbacks and *True Detective* magazine. He then expects the reader to accept his conclusion that the Third World has embraced socialism because it is in bondage to the Devil. As Jimmy Carter would say, "Trust me."

None Dare Call It Witchcraft has been very favorably reviewed in a leading conservative publication. One hears a lot of talk today about a "conservative intellectual movement" in America. Is this book a measure of its intellectual caliber? If such a movement does in fact exist, it would do well to repudiate this poorly researched, assumption-riddled book. ◻

Robert Sheaffer is a graduate (in mathematics and astronomy) of Northwestern University and a free-lance science writer.

The Principles of American Prosperity

by Leighton A. Wilkie and Stanton Rimanoczy
Old Greenwich, Conn.: Winona Press. 1975.
237 pp. $3.95 (pb).

Reviewed by Susan Love Brown

This book is described as "eclectic" by its authors, and so it is. To explain the underlying cause of American prosperity it attempts to do many things—defining the nature of human beings, explaining the evolution of production from the Stone Age to the present and the evolution of exchange from barter to our current system, and looking at current economic considerations and "unsolved" problems. This is quite an undertaking between any two covers, let alone in the 237 pages, six chapters, and seventy-five "lessons" plus glossary that this book boasts. As one might suspect, the book has a number of shortcomings directly related to its attempt to "simplify" a very complex set of concepts—which is too bad, because a text designed for students and lauding American prosperity would be useful.

"The Nature of Man," chapter 1, would have been better left out. Much of it comes off more like conventional wisdom than like sound principles and could be dismissed readily as mere "opinion." It adds little validity to what follows. What has taken philosophers centuries to discover (and forget) about mankind and its peculiarities cannot *usually* be summarized in so brief a disclosure without gross distortions being created and misconceptions following.

For example, the authors immediately label man as "the animal least likely to succeed" because man is not automatically programmed as other animals are; yet they recognize the "two exclusive advantages" of man—his prehensile thumb and his brain. The point the authors are trying to make is a good one—that man must *discover* how best to live. But the point is lost because the biological and philosophical implications are confused. There is not enough in this first chapter to grab hold of and build on, although the authors hint at such promising ideas as the need for "cause and effect" thinking, the importance of private property to man, how man benefits from voluntary cooperation as opposed to coercion, and the importance of criticism and dissent. However, such ideas as "the importance of running scared" and the "need for reasonable insecurity" engender still more confusion.

The real book begins with "The Evolution of Production," chapter 2, and, unfortunately, ends there as well. It is in this chapter that the authors are at their best. They discuss production in the Stone, Bronze, and Iron ages with special attention given to the development of tools. The famous equation is introduced (MMW = NR + HE x T, or Man's Material Welfare equals Natural Resources plus Human Energy times Tools). Each lesson of this chapter is a gem dealing with everything from the history of tools to the factory system, the Industrial Revolution, patents, trademarks, and so on. While the reader may not agree with everything stated, it constitutes a mini-introduction to the whole concept of production for the previously uninitiated.

The next chapter, "The Evolution of Exchange," has problems. It begins with an explanation of the barter system, its shortcomings, and why people had to find other means to deal with each other. It discusses the rise of our banking system, the Federal Reserve, and the loss of the gold standard. There is no discussion, however, of the historical role of government in the debasement of money for its own purposes or how an objective standard makes such activity more difficult. While the authors recognize that backing money with gold or silver "can help engender confidence in a nation's money," they don't recommend a return to an objective standard of value among their "simple" cures for inflation. Rather, they suggest balancing the budget, holding increases in the money supply and in labor compensation to increases in productivity, modernizing tools to increase productivity.

Again the authors falter in "Some Current Economic Considerations," chapter 4. In their attempt to impart an understanding of economics and related subjects in a simple manner, they create more contradictions than they clear up. For example, in the lesson entitled "What Is Economic Freedom?" they state:

> Robinson Crusoe, on his fictitious island, had complete economic freedom, but it was not of his own choice, and relatively few men want such freedom.
>
> All men are interdependent. Therefore, to be workable, economic freedom must be voluntarily restricted to insure their cooperation. A free econo-

Continued on p. 48.

Book Hints

Readers might be interested in some recent books on foreign policy. R. J. Rummel's *Peace Endangered: The Reality of Detente* (Sage, 1976, $10) and Paul Eidelberg's *Beyond Detente: Toward An American Foreign Policy* (Sherwood Sugden, 1977, $9.95/$2.95) make an interesting pair. Rummel argues the facts and figures of Soviet military superiority; Eidelberg demonstrates Communist strength in ideological propagandizing in spite of the moral superiority of the ideas of liberty and human rights that support the American tradition. Let's return to the principles of statesmanship of the founding fathers, says Eidelberg. No, let's reorganize, say Graham Allison and Peter Szanton in *Remaking Foreign Policy: The Organizational Connection* (Basic, 1976, $10.95)— for a successful foreign policy, presidents need more access to people and information and need more influence; hence, let's shuffle things around. If you want to read something by almost everyone (Nixon, Brzezinski, Brezhnev, Laird, Kissinger, Nitze, etc., etc.), plus U.S.-Soviet agreements, 1972-74, check out *Detente and Defense: A Reader*, ed. R. J. Pranger, (AEI, 1976, $4.50, pb). The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI)—where Gerald Ford is reputedly settling in—puts out a number of defense-related publications (all paperback). They organize and publish discussions between public figures, e.g., *Who's First in Defense: The U.S. or The U.S.S.R.? How Much Defense Spending is Enough?* and *The Future of the United Nations* (all 1976, $2.00). From an AEI and Hoover Institution collaboration comes *Castroism and Communism in LatinAmerica, 1959-1976*, by W. E. Ratliff (1976, $4.00). AEI's Foreign Affairs Studies series takes on specific cases: *The Strategic Balance in the Mediterranean*, by J. W. Lewis (1976, $3.95), and *The Crisis in the Lebanese System*, by E. M. Koury (1976, $3.00), among others. Another series, Studies in Defense Policy, brings *Soviet Nuclear Planning*, by L. A. Fank (1977, $3.00), and *Civil-Military Relations*, by A. J. Goodpaster and S. P. Huntington (1977, $2.50). And now there's the *AEI Defense Review*, a new magazine/journal planned for bimonthly publication. Number one, out in February '77 ($1.50), is a debate between David Cortright and Strom Thurmond on unionization of the military. Finally, the issue of the draft is alive and well. Those who would like to bone up on the debate might consult Martin Anderson's *Conscription: A Select and Annotated Bibliography* (Hoover, 1976). R

movies

Black Sunday • Islands In the Stream

• John Frankenheimer is a director of considerable ability, especially in the cumulative organization of details required to bring a story to an effective climax. He is responsible for such fine films as *The Train, Birdman of Alcatraz,* and *The Manchurian Candidate*; and none of his films before or since has had the eerie intensity of the first half hour of *Seconds.* One would suspect from his subsequent films that his abilities have faltered, but it is more likely that the problem lies with the materials. His *French Connection II* was almost entirely without human interest, except for one searing scene in which Gene Hackman withdraws "cold turkey" from repeated forcible injections of heroin. **BLACK SUNDAY** provides on the whole much better materials. There is as much spectacle and suspense as one could wish, and the details are laid out clearly, with hints of things-to-come adroitly planted so as to create maximum possible tension. The ability of the hijackers to destroy from the air everyone in the football stadium is made chillingly clear in an early scene in the Mojave Desert where the new weaponry is tested. Without such an accumulation of details the climactic scene would have lost much of its power, but Frankenheimer is a master of this kind of build-up and loses no opportunity to maximize the impact of the last half hour.

Not unexpectedly for this kind of movie, the characters are rather papier-mache. Both sides (Israeli and Arab) are totally dedicated to their respective causes, and both calmly engage in orgies of killing of the opposition. To add to this already considerable display of violence, there is the American ex-air-force pilot (Bruce Dern's most electric performance to date) who has no political convictions at all, but is conveniently used by the Arabs because he wants to "get even with the American people for what they did to him" as a Vietnam war prisoner; in fact he outdoes both sides in bloodthirstiness.

The conflict quickly becomes one between the "baddies" (the Arab terrorists) and the "goodies" (the Israeli counter-terrorists), and the audience routinely boos the one and cheers the other. The only change in this stock formula in *Black Sunday* is the barest suggestion by each side that "the other side" may have some merit too. Lest we think the main actress (Marthe Keller) is an unmotivated heartless killer (and she does rack up an alarming number of corpses before the film is over), we are shown her dossier by an FBI man, through which we get a momentary insight into her past: father killed in an Israeli raid on her village, mother and brothers killed in the 1967 and 1973 wars. This incident, which lasts but a few seconds, is the only clue we glean as to her motivation. In a hospital scene soon after, the hero (Robert Shaw) is told by his Israeli cohort (who is killed a few minutes later, and by his death saves Shaw's life), "You're beginning to see both sides of it, aren't you? And from our point of view that's dangerous." But neither of these points is developed, and the curtain of emotion closes very quickly. From that point on Shaw, having spared the woman in the first scene, makes up for his original error by killing rather constantly and without any visible compunction. "Any means to a good end" seems to be the motto of both sides in the struggle. And that's about the extent of the morality one will find in this film.

If you enjoy tension, suspense, and spectacle, you can revel in it here, because this degree of it doesn't come by too often. But if you prefer the confrontation of ideas, or three-dimensional characters, or reflections on the human scene, you can forget about all that as far as this film is concerned.

—John Hospers

• There isn't a lot of action, as movies go: the visit of the children, the catching and losing of a big fish, a chase against Cuban gunboats. Nor is there much of plot—a patchwork of brief episodes in the life of a retired painter living alone on a Bahamas island at the outbreak of World War II. The story is leisurely, slow-moving, atmospheric. There are three segments patched together, each with its own ending: The Boys, The Woman, The Journey. These titles are announced on the screen as **ISLANDS IN THE STREAM** proceeds, to shift our mental gears from one episode to the next. The structural flaws of Hemingway's last work are self-consciously shared by the film adaptation.

And yet the film is, intermittently, very moving. For director Franklin Schaffner, more typically represented by *Patton,* this is a tour de force—and one which works very well, if one sits back and lets the film in its own leisurely way do its work in opening bit by bit the floodgates of feeling. The film is about life and death, loneliness and grief, and feelings so deep that one does not know how to articulate them. George C. Scott as the father gives one of his most memorable performances. Almost equally memorable is that of David Hemmings as the ship's mate, at once a drunken wastrel and a lonely sensitive man who lives vicariously through Scott and his family. As the divorced wife, Claire Bloom gives a restrained and sensitive performance.

There are times when one does not know where if anywhere the film is going, but even these sequences are worth having since they prepare the ground for the many moments of intense emotional evocation. There is the second son, who arrives hating his estranged father with a passion, and by the end of the summer never wants to leave—and all the moments in between showing the gradual change in mutual feeling. (The little boy hooks a hugh fish and spends hours trying to reel it in. The father, seeing his hands bleeding, says "The fish doesn't matter—are *you* all right?" and the boy smiles back, "*He's* the one with the hook in his mouth.") There is the intense loneliness after the children leave, registered

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ISN'T IT A LITTLE SCARY?
THAT YOUR KIDS ARE LEARNING ALL ABOUT GOVERNMENT IN SCHOOLS OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE GOVERNMENT.
SIMON JESTER #107

IF THERE'S BEEN NO VICTIM THEN THERE'S BEEN NO CRIME
REPEAL ALL LAWS RESTRICTING INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY
SIMON JESTER #109

TANSTAAFL
(THERE AIN'T NO SUCH THING AS A FREE LUNCH)
WHICH MEANS IF YOU WANT THE GOVERNMENT TO DO SOMETHING, THEY'RE EITHER GOING TO TAKE MONEY FROM YOU TO DO IT OR TAKE IT FROM SOMEONE ELSE.
—WHICH MAKES YOU EITHER: (1) A FOOL OR (2) A THIEF
SIMON JESTER #110

DON'T BE FOOLED!
THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT "OUR SERVANT"
THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT "THE COUNTRY"
THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT "THE PEOPLE"
THE GOVERNMENT IS AN AGENCY OF FORCE WHICH TAXES OUR INCOMES IN EXCHANGE FOR REGULATING OUR LIVES.
SIMON JESTER #111

LIBERTARIANISM
UNRESTRICTED LIBERTY IN THOUGHT AND ACTION
SIMON JESTER #114

in silent pain on Scott's face. When news comes that the oldest son has been killed, Scott sits all day by the pounding surf, brooding alone, and finally says, "What he has to be to me now is just memories. I'm supposed to keep the memories and then write him off—and I can't." When his ex-wife arrives to annouce that she is about to remarry, he is unable to tell her the truth, that he has never loved anyone else but her, even though it means that she will believe that he does not. Searching his face for one spoken word saying that he still cares, she leaves without ever hearing that word—and he never sees her again. In few films has the tragedy of unspoken feelings been more poignantly rendered.

It is not often in film that the need for action takes such a self-consciously second place to the manifest desire to dwell on the inner effects of actions. To those viewers who are not ashamed of pausing for a while and studying the characters' feelings—and through them, their own—this film is a rare treat. The lack of the traditional virtues of plot and action only accentuates the haunting experience the film delivers. Judged by Aristotelian cannons of plot, this film is not noteworthy; judged as a vehicle of technical achievements and innovative gimmicks, it is lacking and sometimes even a bit crude; but as a revelation of human emotion, it is a phenomenon so rarely encountered in American films that one realizes after seeing this one how much one has missed.

—J.H.

publisher's notes

• MASTHEAD CHANGES

We are pleased to announce several additions to our masthead. Beginning this month, Don Wood joins our staff as REASON's art director. Wood is responsible for the new look of REASON, developed over the past several months and making its debut with this issue. A libertarian, Wood is a 32-year-old native of California with a B.A. in art from the University of California College of Arts and Crafts. In addition to his REASON duties, Wood is employed as a painter, commercial artist, and free-lance illustrator for various publications.

Also added to our masthead is new contributing editor Edith Efron, who will become a regular Viewpoint contributor. Efron's viewpoint will appear every third month, alternating with the viewpoints of Tibor Machan and Alan Reynolds. Efron's viewpoint replaces that of Murray Rothbard, who continues as a contributing editor. Efron has been a professional writer for over 30 years, and has worked for *Time, Life, Look,* and the *New York Times*. Currently a free-lance writer and columnist for *TV Guide,* she spent much of last year assisting former Treasury Secretary William Simon in preparing a book about political and economic freedom. Efron authored the popular book *The News Twisters,* followed by *How CBS Tried to Kill a Book,* and she has recently contributed articles to *Barron's, Commentary, The Alternative,* and REASON.

Also joining our staff this month are new contributing editors Jim Davidson and Karl T. Pflock. Featured in REASON's Spotlight last December, Davidson is founder and director of the 32,000 member National Taxpayers Union and has published major articles in *Playboy,* the *Washington Post, Penthouse,* and *Playgirl*. His hard-hitting antitax article, "Punch Out the IRS!" in the April 1976 *Playboy* earned him the magazine's Annual Writing Award for the best new contributor in nonfiction. Davidson has recently been admitted for studies in political philosophy by Oxford University, and he plans to write a major work about the political system and special interest groups.

Karl T. Pflock is a free-lance writer and editor. He is currently on retainer as a senior editor of Arlington House Publishers, serving as their Washington, DC editor. Until recently Pflock was editor of *Libertarian Review* and was a senior editor at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, which he joined after a five-and-a-half-year stint with the Central Intelligence Agency. Pflock's short stories have appeared in science fiction magazines, and his nonfiction has been published in newspapers and in such magazines as *Human Events, The New Guard, Books for Libertarians,* and *Libertarian Review*. His first novel *(science fiction, subspecies space opera)* is currently in the hands of a major publisher, and he is a member of the Science Fiction Writers of America.

Another change this month is the appearance of contributing editor John Hospers as REASON's new movie critic. An active movie-goer, Hospers is professor of philosophy at the University of Southern California and was the Libertarian Party's candidate for president against Richard Nixon in 1972. In addition to his prolific work in the field of philosophy, Hospers is the author of *Meaning and Truth in the Arts* (now in its sixth printing) and *Artistic Expression*. He has edited two anthologies and has published many essays on the fine arts, and his articles on art and aesthetics appear in both the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* and *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retiring from the post of movie critic after some five years, to devote more time to screenwriting, Charles Barr will continue to write occasional movie reviews for REASON.

We are also pleased to announce our new Italian correspondent, Riccardo La Conca. La Conca is secretary of the Italian Libertarian Movement ("Movimento Libertario") in Rome, the only existing libertarian group in Italy. Movimento Libertio is broadcasting in Rome through an FM radio station (Radioroma) and is about to publish a libertarian newspaper, *Libertarian Alternative* ("Alternativa Libertaria"). We shall publish a report from La Conca in a forthcoming issue about the prospects for liberty in Italy.

• KARL BRAY FUND

Prominent tax protestor Karl Bray is undergoing therapy for cancer of the lymphatic system. Bray is 33 years old and was recently featured in a front page article on the tax resistance movement in the April 16 issue of the *National Observer*. His chances of recovery are good, but he needs help to cover his medical expenses, which are estimated to be $30,000. A fund has been set up for Bray's medical expenses by Hank Hohenstein's church. Contributions and letters may be sent to Church of Moral Ethics, P.O. Box 674, Hermosa Beach, CA 90254.

• BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

The December issue of REASON will feature a special review section on libertarian-oriented books for children, ages 3 to 15. Readers are encouraged to send suggestions for books to be included to our reviewer, John McClaughry, Concord, VT 05824. Publishers are also encouraged to submit review copies.

• CLARIFICATION

The review of *Defending the Undefendable* that appeared on pp. 26 and 27 of the May issue was a paid advertisment by the publisher, Fleet Press, and not an article, as some readers apparently believed.

frontlines

Short Notes and Honorable Mentions

In Medford, Oregon, last February, a libertarian business consultant, Robert O. Baures, organized a **"Businessmen's Self-Defense Seminar."** The program consisted of a full day of short sessions discussing and illustrating the anti-business mentality, developing a self-esteem program for pro-business activism, and generally marshalling the audience to begin to resist. For information about future seminars, contact Baures, 33 N. Central, Medford, OR 97501.

The idea of organizing stockholders to vote at annual corporation meetings against trade with Communist countries was mentioned in this column a few months ago. The originator of that idea, Carl Olson, 4623 San Feliciano Drive, Woodland Hills, CA 91364, has added a second tactic to his program. The new initiative is called **"Stockholders Against the Government Burden,"** and the idea is to require the annual report of the corporation to include a detailed accounting of taxes paid, including taxes on employees as a condition of employment and by customers as excise and sales levies, government loans, various price-fixing and subsidy arrangements, and the expense of regulatory red-tape and other paperwork costs. Olson is convinced that it is lack of information on the part of the bulk of the public as to the extent of the drag on the economy which prevents stockholders from rising up in anger. Two corporations, Cyprus Mines and Lockheed Aircraft, are scheduled to vote on these issues in their next annual meetings. All it takes to get a question like this included in the agenda is a small minority stockholder's interest and some maneuvering through the corporation's bylaws.

The National Right to Work Committee, which was established to propose legislation to fight previously legislated privileges, is adding a new tune to its program. The Right to Work Committee, 8316 Arlington Blvd., Fairfax, VA 22038, is one of the most successful conservative (yet quasi-libertarian) political action committees around—and is solidly anti-socialist. Its central concept, "freedom of choice," is pure libertarianism but its strategy heretofore has not been. The new campaign is directed against the concept of an "exclusive bargaining agent" in labor relations—that is, if some employees don't want to join a union, they should have the right to bargain independently of the organization (rather than being forced to join it or pay its "agency" fees). The Right to Work Committee recently won a 9-0 Supreme Court decision regarding a Wisconsin schoolteacher who spoke out at a public meeting of the school board against the union's "agency shop" contract. The union sued, under its exclusive-representative guarantee, and the teacher appealed the case all the way to the Supreme Court as a freedom of speech issue, with Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation assistance. A Minnesota case and a Detroit case are also before the Supreme Court. The Right to Work Committee argues that, in these cases, it is just following the logic of the union leadership: those who don't want to pay for the union shouldn't receive its services.

The **MENSA** society, which excludes from its membership persons who cannot demonstrate intelligence test scores in the top 2 per cent of the population, encourages the formation of Special Interest Groups, for discussion of topics and adoption of positions. The society as a whole takes no positions. Chairman of the S.I.G. for Libertarianism is Bob Steiner, 24 Prospect St., Westfield, NJ 07090, and the group's newsletter is available for $3.00 per year. The Mensans who seem to favor libertarianism are growing in numbers rapidly and regional conferences and gatherings are being held all over the United States. Since we know that there ain't no such thing as a dumb libertarian, we encourage REASON readers to contact Steiner and investigate MENSA.

The **Committee to Establish the Gold Standard** is organizing Congressional District committees to focus lobbying efforts on individual members of Congress. According to *The Gold Bug*, newsletter of the Committee available from Howard Katz, 85 Fourth Ave., New York, NY 10003, the Committee has been rapidly increasing its membership in the past few months. Katz has long advocated a left-wing appeal in favor of the gold standard, since inflation and paper money tend to hurt the poorest and weakest members of society the most. Considering the make-up of Congress, this tactic might just be optimal at this time. Senator Jesse Helms, hardly a left-winger, has reintroduced his bill to legalize gold-clause contracts between persons who don't want to use "dollars." This bill almost passed last year, with Secretary of the Treasury William Simon's active support. It died in committee, but except for some institutionalist opposition, the ideological opposition to the legalization of private contracting standards seems to be weak. It is not clear exactly what would happen to the dollar credit system if some sort of association of banks which are not members of the Federal Reserve System (and this is a majority of the smaller banks in the country) should line up an electronic funds transfer system and clear checks against deposits denominated in gold grams. There are no laws against doing this in silver today, and Sen. Helms' bill would clear the way for a gold transfer system. Government monetary systems may be a thing of the past sooner than anyone dares think.

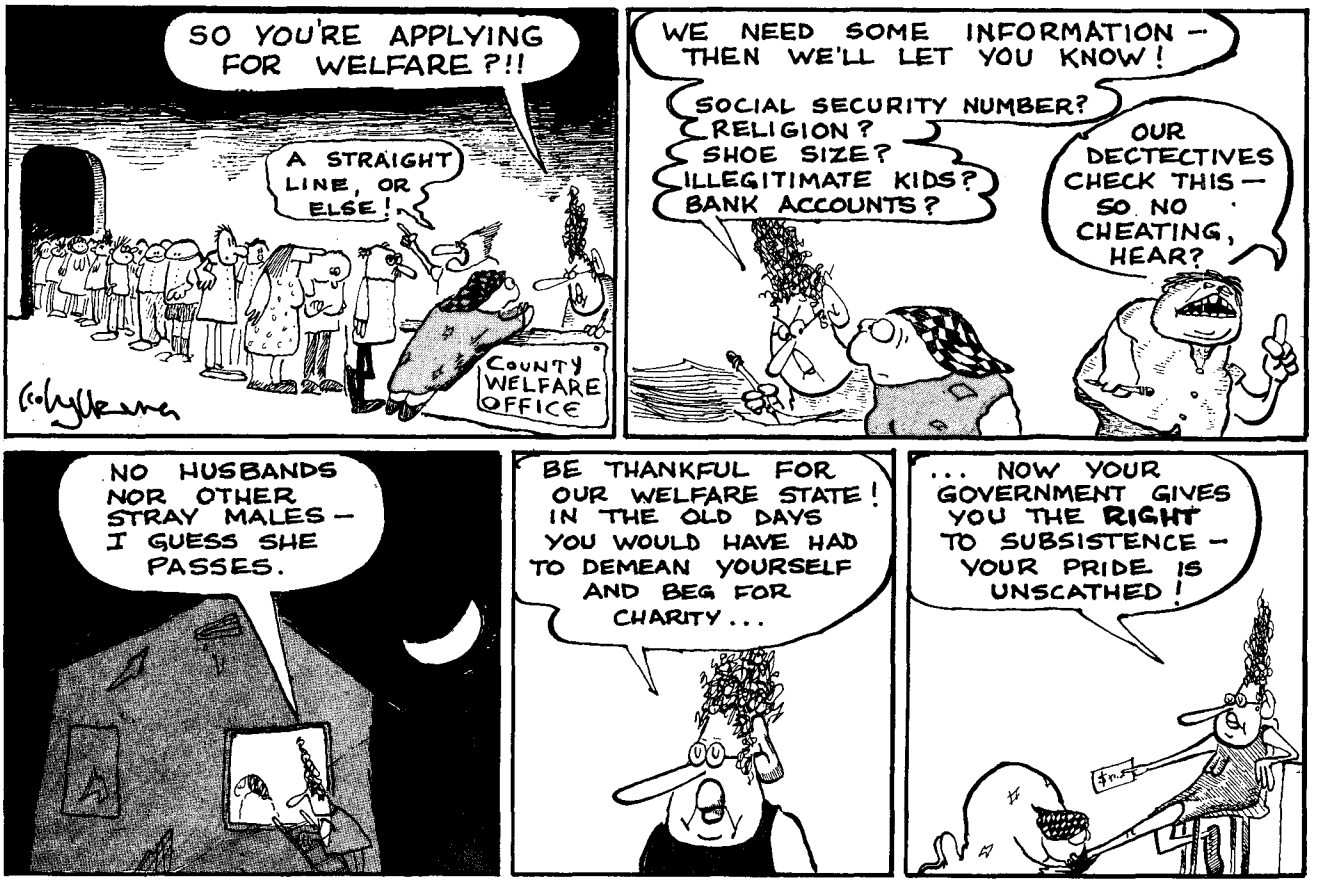
An active organization with a strongly libertarian program is the **Americans United for Separation of Church and State**, 8120 Fenton St., Silver Spring, MD 20910. The focus of AUSCS is to prevent tax monies from being spent in subsidy of churches or church-related schools. A recent letter to prospective members signed by Andrew Leigh Gunn, Executive Director, was clearly libertarian in its advocacy—unlike some of the writings of Madalyn Murray O'Hair who has advocated taxing the churches.

Speaking of church and state, on the other side of the barricades, the Citizens for Decency Through Law, 450 Leader Bldg., Cleveland, OH 44114, recently held a dinner in celebration of their victory over Larry Flynt of *Hustler* magazine. One of their featured speakers was Dr. Ernest Van Den Haag, who was recently interviewed in the newsletter of the World Research, Inc., which produced the excellent and successful *Incredible Bread Machine* film. Interviewer Karl Keating captured the essential content of Van Den Haag's advocacy of capital punishment, but somehow missed the central element of authoritarianism in his position. For the serious student of psychology and sociology who might be inclined to mistake someone like Van Den Haag, who writes frequently for conservative journals, as a friend of human liberty, we would recommend a comparison of his writings with those of Thomas Szasz or Peter Breggin.

Joe Cobb

rudebarbs

by Randall K. Hylkema


SO YOU'RE APPLYING FOR WELFARE?!!
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COUNTY WELFARE OFFICE
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RELIGION?
SHOE SIZE?
ILLEGITIMATE KIDS?
BANK ACCOUNTS?
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NO HUSBANDS NOR OTHER STRAY MALES — I GUESS SHE PASSES.
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... NOW YOUR GOVERNMENT GIVES YOU THE RIGHT TO SUBSISTENCE — YOUR PRIDE IS UNSCATHED!

books

Continued from p. 44.

my is one in which men work for others, so that others will work for them. They give things up in order to get things.

But there are three basic freedoms that do not have to be given up, and in fact, cannot be given up if freedom is to have any meaning.

In using freedom in two (maybe even three) different senses, the authors create a confusion between absolute freedom of the individual in a societal context and the decision-making process in which some choices are made rather than others. There are nevertheless some important points made in this chapter—how wages are determined, where profits go, and so on.

In considering "Unsolved Problems" in chapter 5, the authors fall short again. An instance is a series of lessons on education. Nowhere do the authors question compulsory or public education. Rather, they question the wisdom of some of the tendencies that have developed within public education, calling poor John Dewey to task again. The chapter may have been intended to examine "unsolved" problems, but the authors merely dance around accepted premises and the problems are never really identified.

Wilkie and Rimanoczy, in other words, do a good job of describing how we arrived at our current economic system, and their book may be construed as an apology for it. Like so many others, the authors end up praising and supporting what we have, instead of generating thought about what kind of economic and political situation would allow us to become truly prosperous. In case the authors hadn't noticed, we are losing our claims to prosperity—inch by inch, to be sure, but losing nevertheless. And why? Because of government intervention. To be sure, individuals may or may not prosper with government out of the economic picture, but with its massive economic disruptions the government has rendered this a moot point for the time being. Let us hope that the time will come when we can take it up again. ◘

Susan Love Brown is the editor of *World Research Ink*.

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Conscription

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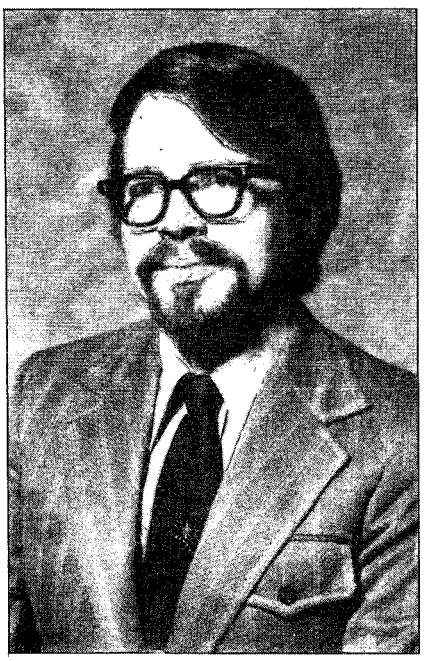
declared wars. Apparently, as long as Congress places its imprimatur upon a military adventure, no loyal citizen should mind becoming a government serf. Libertarians rarely engage in such ideological hedging. They understand that governmental power to conscript individuals for *any* reason represents a grave peril to liberty. Libertarian leadership of an anti-draft movement will ensure that any debate concerning conscription focuses upon that vital issue instead of wandering off onto intriguing but largely tangential matters.

The central argument against conscription must emphasize that such a device is repulsive to the very concept of individual liberty. Each person has the right to determine how he will use own life. Any law that converts an individual into government property, be it for two years or two minutes, tramples upon that basic right. Just as authoritarian elements endorse conscription because it asserts the supremacy of the State, those who uphold liberty must eliminate the draft forever through constitutional amendment in order to affirm the inviolability of the individual. A libertarian victory on this issue will ensure that Americans shall never again be defended by an army of slaves. R



Ted Carpenter is a Ph.D. candidate in U.S. diplomatic history at the University of Texas. He holds B.A. and M.A. degrees in history from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

letters

Continued from p. 12.

no time in solving the complex problems which now plague our civilization. The problem of cheap and abundant sources of energy would no doubt be disposed of very quickly, let us say within a week. Devising the means of interplanetary travel might require more time, a month let us say. A task so complex as bringing immortality to the human race might take as long as a year (taking into account lunch breaks).

Given the prejudices inherent in our present Western belief system, funding would no doubt pose a problem. However, once again Mr. Gover has pointed us to a solution. If only Dr. Castaneda could be persuaded to prepare a fictitious account of some awesome technological achievements produced by these sages, and then publish it as a factual account, surely endowments would not be long in forthcoming. In the past we have been reluctant to employ such means, mainly because we were scared of getting caught, but now, as Mr. Gover has so brilliantly demonstrated, we need have no such qualms, since it can be shown that the path of duplicity is precisely the path which needs to be followed if one is to circumvent the bungling superstitions of our present backward belief system. I would also like to nominate Professor Machan as the PR man for the institute, for who better than he has shown us how both philosophy and science have their common origins in common sense (rather than rationality, as is commonly supposed)? And what better choice for our emissary to the planets than the eminent Dr. Timothy Leary, who is probably better prepared for this task than any other living human?

Paul Christoffers
Frederick, MD

Butterfly Man

What is a magazine with the title REASON doing publishing the current [April] interview with the butterfly man Timothy Leary? The next step is to change your title to "Irrationality," and your party to "Learyaliens." Up, up and away....

Newton Baird
Georgetown, CA

Letters from readers are welcome. Each receives editorial consideration, although only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged.

CLAUSTROPHOBIA

BOUNDARY RESISTANCE

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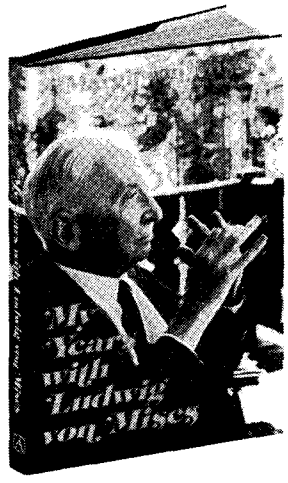
My Years with Ludwig von Mises

Margit von Mises

Illustrated



MISES—MAN AND INSTITUTION

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- Fascinating correspondence from Mises to Hayek

Ludwig von Mises was one of the century's intellectual giants. In an era of growing collectivism he stood out as the most influential and profound of the free-market economists. He was the mentor of other giants like Nobel Laureate F. A. von Hayek, Hans Sennholz, Wilhelm Roepke, Jacques Rueff, Murray Rothbard, Luigi Einaudi and Ludwig Lachmann. Three years after his death at 92, interest in his thought is soaring as the conventional economic wisdom crumbles.

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